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ABSTRACT

This "special theme" journal issue focuses on higher education of Chicanos and Latinos. The journal includes the following articles: (1) "Dilemmas of Chicano and Latino Professors in U.S. Universities" (Hisauro Garza); (2) "Analysis of Tenure Among Hispanic Higher Education Faculty" (Richard R. Verdugo); (3) "Experiences of Multiple Marginality: A Case Study of Chicana 'Scholarship Women'" (Holguin Cuadraz); (4) "Hispanic Underrepresentation in Higher Education: A Personal Perspective" (Mario L. M. Baca); (5) "Policy Issues that Close Access to Higher Education: Toward the Empowerment of Latino/Chicano Youth" (Alberto M. Ochoa and Others); (6) "Access or Deterrence? Student Financial Aid and Low-Income Chicanos/Latinos" (Whitney Laughlin); and (7) "Induction Programs for Bilingual Teachers: Addressing the Needs of Teachers in Language Minority Education" (Joan Wink and Juan M. Flores). (LP)

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SPECIAL THEME EDITION

1992

Chicanos in Higher Education

THE JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MEXICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS, INC.

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Under the leadership of the Executive Board, the Association of Mexican American Educators (AMAE) annually publishes the *Journal* which deals with issues of importance to the education of Mexican American students. Articles deal with educational, social, political, cultural, and psychological issues. The *Journal of the Association of Mexican American Educators, Inc.* is a refereed journal.

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The Editor's Corner

The current literature on the education of Chicanos and Latinos reveals a variety of problems and challenges facing our communities, particularly as they relate to higher education. It is with this extant literature in mind that the AMAE Journal decided to dedicate the current issue of the journal to study the experiences of our communities in relation to higher education. I am extremely pleased with the quality and variety of articles that have surfaced in this blind review process. It is with a significant sense of pride that we offer to you this current edition of the Journal.

The pipeline through the public schools to higher education for Chicanos and Latinos is greatly constricted, and the trend does not seem to be improving, despite claims of some groups. Even when these students get through the K-12 pipeline, Chicanos and Latinos tend to under-enroll in the University of California and the California State University. A large number of eligible students choose not to enroll in the CSU and the UC even though they have met all of the requirements. Baca and Ochoa et al., address some of the issues related to the recruitment and retention of Chicanos and Latinos in higher education and the significant gap that exists between the needs of our communities and the extent to which higher education in California has addressed their needs. The funding reductions that we have recently experienced in California, particularly as they relate to higher education, cannot help but exacerbate an already difficult situation.

Once Chicano students arrive on college campuses, other difficulties present themselves, including the question of financing a college education. Laughlin eloquently describes the problems that Chicano students experience related to financial aid. Often when students are provided with financial aid to attend a university, the economic difficulties of their families do not disappear into the background. The contributing role that the eldest children traditionally play in the Chicano family takes it toll, and financial aid that was intended for books often finds its way to support a poverty stricken family. Thus, the responsibilities of an older child to contribute to the family often can conflict with the education of this student, and many often end up having to leave school.

Chicanos who are fortunate enough to enter graduate school and choose the route to academia often end up with another set of problems. Garza and Verdugo very eloquently discuss some of the challenges and issues faced by Chicanos who choose to become professors in institutes of higher education. Many Chicano/Latino faculty express a sense of isolation and insulation that they experience at a variety of levels in the university. First, they are initially isolated by their discipline. They tend to be represented in disciplines such as Ethnic Studies, Bilingual Education or some other minority/language minority related discipline, disciplines whose validity is often questioned by traditional academics. Second, they are also isolated by their academic peers because they are often the only minority member in their department, or in such small numbers as to minimize their impact. Finally, they tend to be isolated socially because of a lack of cohesive support groups for Chicano faculty across disciplines. The most significant manifestation of this isolation is most evident in the lack of professional development that Chicago faculty often experience, often resulting in being denied tenure, promotion or future professional opportunities.

Chicanas face an additional set of problems and issues. Holguin-Cuadraz does an excellent job of analyzing the multiple barriers that Chicanas face on entering the scholarship world. The Chicana is faced with barriers related to race because of her ancestry, but she is also confronted by sexism because of her gender. These are dissicult obstacles that need to be addressed if we ar to increase the number of Chicanas entering academia.

The number of Chicanos entering higher education has actually decreased over the years, especially the number of Chicanos who have entered the teaching profession. This is particularly problematic at a time when minority children have become the majority of students in our California public school classrooms According to Lisa Marcusson of Western New Mexico University, Hispanic students in Los Angeles, California comprise 53% of the school population, but only 10% of the teachers are Hispanic. This totally skewed distribution of Chicano/Latino students and teachers results in a situation in which, according to Walter Mercer, we end up teaching white supremacy without saying a word. Wink and Flores discuss some recommendations for first year induction programs for bilingual teachers, a significant number of whom are Chicano and Latino. There is indeed a crisis in our educational system for the Chicano community, and higher education is a significant piece of this picture.

We are honored to have had the generous financial support for the publication of this journal issue from the Tomás Rivera Center of Trinity University. Under the direction of Dr. Ray Garza and with the support of the Pew Foundation, the Center has created a mentor program in which Chicano academic faculty assist Chicano graduate students with the prepraratin of their doctoral dissertations as well as articles for journal editorial review. Some of the authors whose articles are publsihed in this issue have been participants in the Center's mentor program—the Pew Manuscript Project. We thank the Tomás Rivera Center for their generous support.

You can understand why the advisory board of the AMAE Journal decided that we needed to devote significant energy to the study of higher education as is relates to our communities. I am convinced that this edition addresses issues of importance to all of us. I look forward to hearing from you regarding this edition of the Journal, as well as any other issues that are of importance to you.

Juan M. Flores

AMAE Journal, 1992

Dilemmas of Chicano and Latino Professors in U.S. Universities

Hisauro Garza

The importance of Chicano/Latino professors on a national scale, particularly given the accelerated demographic growth rates of Chicanos/Latinos in the United States (Figures 1 and 2), is without question (Bouvier and Martin, 1985). Yet, little is currently known or available on this increasingly important group. In particular, their status in universities and in the general community of scholars has been largely unassessed. Importantly, there is a need to analyze the role race and ethnicity play in the collegiality (or the lack of it) that takes place within academe.

As I show in this paper, not only is academic work on race and ethnicity seen as suspect, but race/ethnicity can act as a criterion for social placement in the lower segments or strata across and within departments.[1] That racism is a problem in attaining equal employment opportunities has been well documented (Braddock and McPartland, 1986; Burstein, 1985; Alvarez, Lutterman & Associates, 1979). That this same process exists in the academy, although less researched, has also been documented (Garza, 1992, 1984; Aguirre, 1987; Rochin & de la Torre, 1986; Wingfield, 1982; Piliawsky, 1982; Myers, 1977; Rafky, 1972).

In this article, I assess the status of Chicanos/Latinos in U.S. universities. This is done by reporting how Latino faculty feel about their treatment and the status of their teaching and research in these universities.

National Latino Faculty Survey

Much of the data for this paper come from various secondary sources. However, a significant part of the analysis is based directly on data from a national survey of Chicano/Latino faculty I conducted in the first half of 1987. The mail questionnaire survey includes 238 Chicano/Latino faculty representing four disciplines in four-year colleges and universities in the continental United States. The disciplines represented are: 1) education, 2) social sciences, 3) humanities, and 4) ethnic studies. According to National Research Council data, upwards of seventy percent of the annual awards of non-professional doctoral degrees are awarded to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in education, social sciences and humanities.

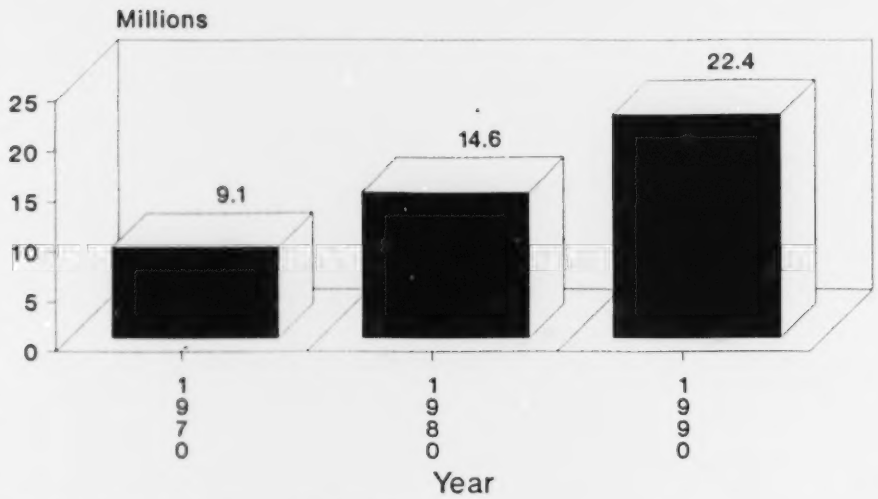
The mailing list for the survey was obtained from The National Faculty Directory (Gale, 1987), a national listing of some 700,000 names of U.S. faculty in two- and four-year colleges and universities.

My thanks to Elizabeth Cohen and Refugio Rochin for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. This paper is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Ralph Guzman, political scientist and social activist at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Hisauro Garza is Assistant Professor, Department of Chicano and Latin American Studies, California State University, Fresno.

Figure 1

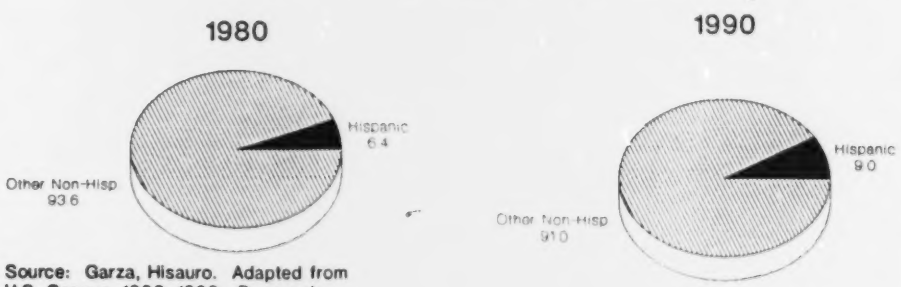
Hispanic Population Growth
U. S. 1970, 1980, 1990



Source: Garza, Hisauro. U.S. Census 1970, 1980, 1990. Does not include probable undercount adjustment.

Figure 2

Total U. S. Hispanic Population



Source: Garza, Hisauro. Adapted from U.S. Census, 1980, 1990. Does not include probable undercount adjustment.

The racial/ethnic/national breakdown of the responding faculty in this survey is as follows:

Mexican American/ Chicano	116 (48.3%)
Mexican	13 (5.4%)
Puerto Rican	17 (7.1%)
Cuban American	26 (10.8%)
Central & South American	24 (10.0%)
Spaniard	40 (16.7%)
Other Latino/ Hispanic	2 (.8%)
Total	238 (100%)

A 23-page questionnaire was mailed in late March of 1987 to Chicano/Latino faculty at their college addresses in academic fields and specific departments (Table 1). Two waves of follow-up reminder cards were then mailed, encouraging them to complete the questionnaires. In the end, the survey had an adjusted return rate of 63 percent. Most of the non-responses or eliminated questionnaires were from faculty not Spanish surname by birth but through marriage.

Chicanos/Latinos and Other "Minorities" in U.S. Professoriate

How represented are minorities among the professorate? The participation of minorities in higher education as university faculty is significantly lower than their participation in graduate education (Garza, 1992, 1984; Adams & Wadsworth, 1989; Brown, S., 1988; Thomas, 1987; Pruitt, 1985, 1983; American Council on Education, 1985; Brown, Rosen, & Olivas, 1980). It is also low among those who earn academic doctorates. Graduate education and receipt of doctorate are two important factors in the production of faculty (Figure 3). The following was the racial and ethnic breakdown of faculty in the U.S. in 1983 and 1989 (recalculated and adapted from U.S. EEOC Higher Education Staff Information, EEO-6 data):

1983	
White (non-Hispanic)	90.2%
Black (non-Hispanic)	4.1%
Hispanic	1.6 %
Asian/Pacific Islander	3.6 %
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	.3 %

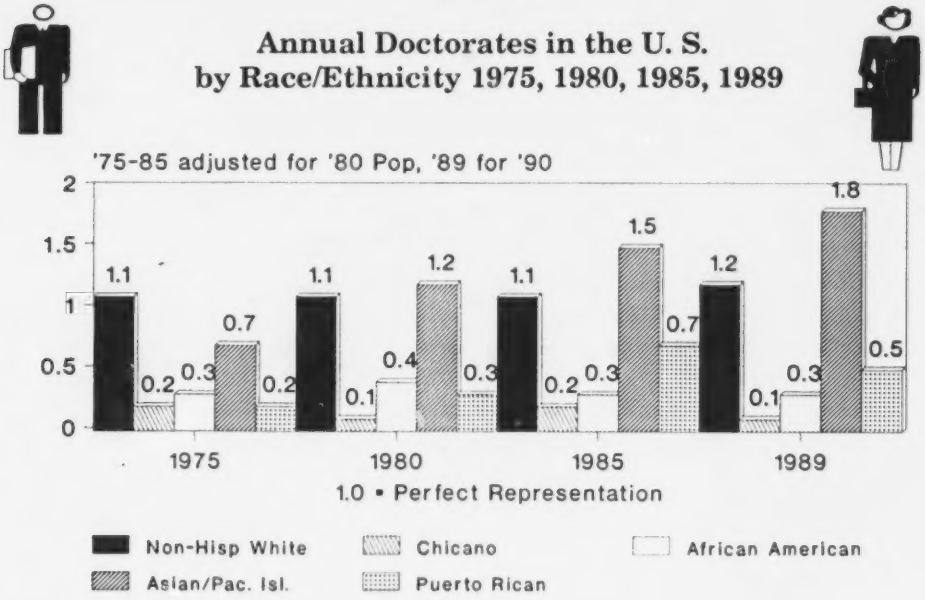
1989	
White (non-Hispanic)	86.6%
Black (non-Hispanic)	4.5 %
Hispanic	2.0 %
Asian/PacificIslander	4.7 %
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	.4 %

A total of six percent of the U.S. professorate in 1983 was comprised of African Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians. However, these same minorities comprised 19 percent of the U.S. population in the 1980 census (National Commission on Student Financial Assistance, 1983, p. 75).[2] Hence, overall, these three minority groups were only about 1/3 (one-third) as well represented in the faculty as they were in the 1980 population. When their respective proportions of the U.S. population are taken into consideration, Chicanos/Latinos are the most underrepresented of all minority groups in the U.S. professoriate. Furthermore, preliminary results of the 1990 U.S. Census indicate a continued dramatic growth for Chicanos/Latinos (Figures 1 and 2). Given this demographic situation, it is quite likely that the representation of Chicanos/Latinos in higher education will have worsened even more.

Based on these trend data, it would appear that the so-called "minority" groups have been gaining while the "majority" group (non-Hispanic whites) has been losing ground. While this may indeed appear to be the case, a closer analysis reveals a slightly different story. Figure 4 combines both the 1983 and 1989 faculty data. However, in this chart I have reworked these same percentages in such a way as to standardize or adjust them for the proportion each group makes up of the entire U.S. population. This seems to be a better way of gauging absolute progress or gains in this area rather than simple raw percentages.[3] This figure tells a much more sobering story. Things have not only failed to improve for racial/ethnic "minority" groups, but have actually worsened for Hispanics (decreasing from .3 in 1983 to .2 in 1989). What is perhaps even more grave is

Figure 3

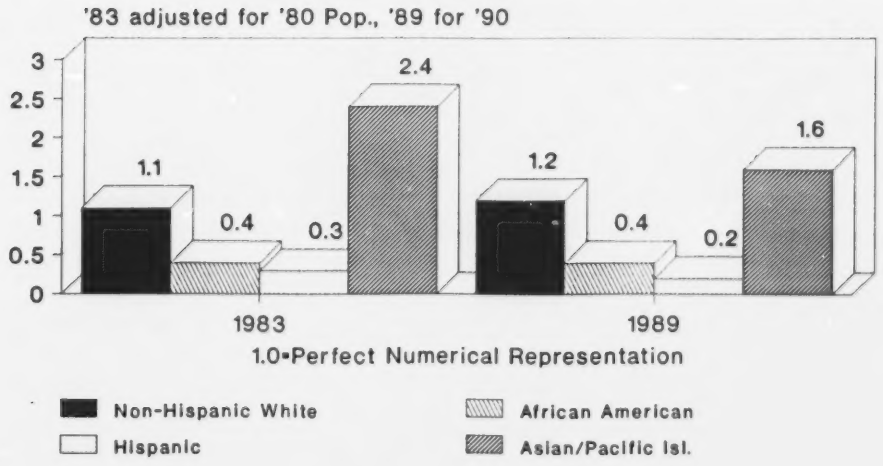
Annual Doctorates in the U. S. by Race/Ethnicity 1975, 1980, 1985, 1989



Source: Garza, Hisauro. Adapted from U.S. Census, 1980, 1990, and National Research Council '75, '80, '85, and '89.

Figure 4

Full-Time Professors (All Ranks) by Race/Ethnicity 1983, 1989



Source: Garza, Hisauro. Adapted from U.S. EEOC, 1983-84, 1989-90; and U.S. Census 1980 and 1990.

that this statistic of .2 in 1989 is actually for the broader category "Hispanic." If these data were available for the Chicano or Mexican origin subgroup, the figure might be even lower for this group.

Objectivity, Scholarship and Social Advocacy

The greatest surge in the numbers of minority academics began to take place during the socially turbulent 1960s. It was a period characterized by intense social pressures for social relevance and political commitment particularly on the part of leaders, intellectuals and other elites. Racial/ethnic scholars often found themselves unable, if not unwilling, to play the role of detached social analysts. As I will shortly show, on the one hand, they often could not, even if they wanted to. On the other, as members of these groups, many had themselves experienced social inequity and were more predisposed toward activism and social change.

The larger social and political context of minority social movements of the 1960s, for example, tended to influence or coerce its young, emerging intellectuals/scholars often into assuming nationalistic postures in defense of their communities in both their social actions and in their written works. They were almost forced by historical and structural circumstances to play a more direct advocacy role versus the more typical detached scholarly role normally given to intellectuals and scholars. This is not meant to imply that all the emerging minority intellectuals felt these pressures and adopted committed and engaged modes. For many, this larger political context, coupled with the often unrealistic and unfair expectations of them by the university, create conflicting demands and expectations. This conflict, that might be characterized by "role balance, marginality" (Hughes, 1945; Stonequist, 1937; Park, 1928) or "status inconsistency" (Lenski, 1954; Goodenough, n.d.), creates a situation where the newcomers to academe often find themselves playing the role of Simmel's (1950) "stranger" and outsider.

Direct commitment, advocacy and action were seen as—and probably were—absolutely necessary. Minority scholars were (are) placed in a dilemma between being a strict academic, a scholar-advocate, an advocate-scholar or a strict advocate. This dilemma, I suspect, continues to haunt many of them today. The expectations and pressures of the university have generally been at odds with those of these racial/ethnic minority communities. On the one hand, the university demands the cultivation of objective detachment, while on the other minority communities need practical involvement in social action for political change. This larger social and political context and these kinds of attendant social pressures have moved many scholars from among these groups to seek answers and skills that directly translate into meaningful resolution to the social injustice and inequality facing their communities. This process has prompted many minority scholars to move into racial/ethnic topics as areas of substantive research in their own academic careers.

These scholars' specializations are an important factor in the departmental concentration and segmentation of Chicano/Latino faculty. Most Chicanos/Latinos in the social sciences, education and humanities are involved in research on Chicano/Latino-related areas. For example, in the 1987 National Latino Faculty Survey sample, two out of three Chicano/Latino faculty in these three disciplines wrote doctoral dissertations dealing with their own racial/ethnic group, Latin America, minorities, or other very closely related topics.

It seems that it is precisely these research areas and perspectives which help keep them in the role of second class academic citizens. This type of research and involvement with their respective communities, as we shall shortly see, continues to be negatively evaluated within the halls of academia. Furthermore, this ascription to secondary status is also fueled by the propensity of these scholars to be concentrated and segmented within and across academic departments (Rochin & de la

Torre, 1986). They tend to be seen as concentrations and segments of ethnic politics, rather than those of legitimate scholarship. Thus, they are caught in a classic double-bind situation.

Nonetheless, the increasing number of Chicano scholars, as limited as this number may be, have tended to have a positive impact on social scholarship and research. Since the mid-1960s, there has been an emerging and growing scholarship that is unique in this country's history. Scholars from within the Chicano group, as have African Americans and other racial/ethnic minorities, are now contributing to re-interpreting the history of the group and challenging models from the social sciences. Many of those models, which were either derived from studies of Chicanos or applied to them, often came from "culturally determinist" positions, assumptions and stereotypes. Those works generally posited that there was something inherently culturally- or valuatively-"deficient" in Chicanos which made them not succeed in society in general and in school in particular. The new focus of these Chicano works which began in the 1960s increasingly pinpoints and analyzes institutional barriers and racial/ethnic discrimination as the principal detriments to success and upward mobility within this community. Importantly, these newer works deal with notions about the diversity (heterogeneity) of the culture and values of this community as opposed to the often homogenetic notions about a traditional, uni-dimensional, "deficient" or pathological Mexican culture of previous social science models. However, these subjects and perspectives of social research not only challenge many established academic discourses, but because they are also new to academe tend to be viewed askance within academia. Thus, even within an institution that prides itself in seeking knowledge and thereby being receptive to new ideas, there is resistance to these particular new ideas which these minority newcomers bring to academe.

Race, Ethnicity and Academic Segmentation

There is no question that Chicanos/Latinos tend to be heavily concentrated in only certain departments, and typically in the lower sectors of those departments. With respect to the concentration of Chicanos/Latinos in certain disciplines and sub-areas, Rochin & de la Torre (1986) found that Chicano faculty tend to be heavily concentrated in Chicano Studies and related programs and departments and sub-specialties (e.g., Spanish, Bilingual Education, etc.). They state that 41 percent of the Hispanic faculty in the University of California system in the social sciences and humanities are actually employed by Chicano Studies programs.

Similarly, their participation on departmental or campus-wide committees is often circumscribed by racial/ethnic factors. In a questionnaire survey of 159 Chicano faculty in the southwest, Aguirre (1987) found that 43 percent of assistant, associate and full professors combined are involved in affirmative action or Mexican-American community-related committees on campus, and 57 percent on committees concerning the recruitment and retention of Chicano students. These figures are almost identical to those in the 1987 National Chicano/Latino Faculty Survey in the present study. When asked, in an open-ended question, what kinds of other positions similar to dean, department chair, director of organized research unit, etc. respondents had held on their campuses, 78 checked off this question and specified what kind of other position this was. Of these 78 open-ended responses, 57.7 percent were various directorships, chairs, coordinatorships, etc. of programs concerned exclusively with such things as language, minorities, culture, study abroad, affirmative action, etc.

Rochin and de la Torre (1986) convincingly show that placement in Chicano Studies programs and these kinds of committee participation have almost literally become the unofficial way of implementing

affirmative action mandates and guidelines, becoming a sort of affirmative action "dumping ground," separate from and with little interconnection to and discourse with the rest of the scholarly community of the university. Given this situation, it would seem that the motivation by those in university decision-making power is to comply with affirmative action requisites and pressures rather than hiring minorities in their own right. It is this phenomenon which has at times been referred to as the "ghetto-ization" or, as in the present case, the "barrioization" of the university (Garza, 1988).

Views on Scholarship and University Life

In order to compare the views of Chicano/Latino scholars and non-Chicanos/Latinos on a number of issues, data from the 1984 Carnegie national faculty survey (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 1985) are used in the present analysis to compare with the 1987 National Latino Faculty Survey. When the Chicano/Latino survey questionnaire was designed, it was developed with this comparative purpose in mind. Therefore, a few identical or very similar questions from the Carnegie survey were included in the Latino survey. Much of what follows is based on these comparisons.

Scholarship

Perhaps it is appropriate to begin this section on faculty views with those views dealing with the basic hallmark of what most faculty do in universities: scholarly teaching and research. Our interest here is to find out how these scholars see themselves and how they believe they are seen by others in academe.

Chicano/Latino scholars believe in the role of the scientific and scholarly enterprise at levels as high or higher than non-minority professors. For example, Table 2 shows that 89.7 percent of Chicanos/Latinos and 78.5 percent of professors overall (Carnegie data) consider themselves intellectuals. While no Carnegie survey data are available for comparative

Table 1

Academic Fields and Departments Sampled in the 1987 National Latino Faculty Survey

Field/Department	N	Percent
Humanities •Spanish Language & Literature •History	127	53.2
Education	50	20.8
Social Sciences •Anthropology •Political Science/Government •Sociology	45	19.1
Ethnic Studies •Mexican American/Chicano Studies •Latino/Hispanic Studies •Puerto Rican Studies •Cuban Studies •Comparative Cultures	16	6.9
Total	238	100.0

purposes on this question, 83.4 percent of Chicanos/Latinos feel they "share in a tradition of scientific research," and 84.9 percent are "committed to the rules and standards for scientific pursuits." However, although they believe very strongly in the academic enterprise, they do not believe the academy believes in them. One out of every four (23.7 percent) Chicanos/Latinos do not "feel accepted as scholars on an equal basis" by their departments. Also, Chicano/Latino responses are somewhat more positive to the two questions which ask about "shar[ing] in a tradition of scientific research" (83.4 percent) and that they are "committed to the rules and standards for scientific pursuits" (84.9 percent), then to "shar[ing] in a particular sense of belonging to a scientific community" (73.8 percent). This difference suggests that, while they are committed to these academic/scientific ideals and have appropriated these scholarly ideals for themselves in their own academic careers, they do not feel they belong to that community which upholds and promotes these ideals—the university.

Despite the fact that these scholars are often seen as being more interested in "minority service" (Suinn & Witt, 1982) and minority- or Chicano/Latino-related advocacy by non-Hispanic and non-minority faculty, they actually subscribe to broader, traditional academic and scientific values often at rates higher than do non-minority faculty (see Table 2). However, what is somewhat surprising and salutary in all of this is that they subscribe to these traditional academic beliefs despite the fact that many of them are concentrated in minority and/or Chicano/Latino-related departments and subareas (e.g., Spanish language and literature, Chicano Studies, Politics and Sociology of the Chicano Community, etc.); which one would think would produce in-group biased values and outlooks. Given that the prime motivation for hiring Chicanos/Latinos seem to often be affirmative action requirements (Rochin & de la Torre, 1986), it seems reasonable to conclude that Chicano/Latino faculty are often seen primarily as affirmative action cases and only secondarily (if at all) as scholarly equals, or as scholars in their own right.

Another perhaps even more important area on which they significantly differ is in the belief of the relationship between personal political values and scholarship. Although the survey questions were slightly differently worded, there is comparability between the Chicano/Latino and the overall Carnegie faculty data. Sixty-five percent (65.6 percent) of Chicanos/Latinos and only 27.9 percent of faculty overall believe that "a person's research inevitably reflects his or her political values." Yet, despite believing that personal political values are implicit in a person's research, Chicanos/Latinos subscribe in as high or higher number to traditional notions about scholarship and intellectualism.

However, as Table 3 shows, two out of every five (43.5 percent) Chicano and Puerto Rican professors combined feel that research by members of their own racial/ethnic group is seen as academically inferior and illegitimate within their departments. This perception holds even more strongly in the higher prestige universities (50.0 percent) compared to those with lesser prestige (29.3 percent).[4] Relatedly, two out of every five (39.5 percent) of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans feel that research on their own racial/ethnic group is also seen this way outside their universities in the larger world of scholarship overall. However, faculty in high prestige schools are significantly more likely to feel this way (47.8 compared to 26.4 percent). In a related question, a full 85.6 percent of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans felt that research on their own group is either rated as being of low quality (45.2 percent), or of high(er) (40.4 percent) quality when Anglos do this kind of research. This means that the rest, or only 14.4 percent actually think this kind of research is either highly (5.8 percent) rated no matter who does it, or high(er) when done by Chicanos/Latinos (8.9 percent). This suggests that the negative evaluation of this kind of research is perceived

by Chicanos and Puerto Ricans as biased against both the topic of research as well as the minority person doing it.

Teaching and Research

As stated earlier in this paper, two out of every three Chicanos/Latinos teaching in education, humanities, social sciences and ethnic studies wrote dissertations dealing with their own group, Latin America, minorities or very closely related topics. More importantly, three out of every four of this group currently teach courses dealing with their own racial/ethnic group and/or other Latino/Hispanic matters (Table 4). Of those currently conducting research, 85 percent are involved in research concerning their own racial/ethnic Hispanic group; and of these, over half (57 percent) spend from 41 to 100 percent of their weekly research time on this same subject (Table 5).

Slightly over half (57.7 percent) of Latino/Hispanic faculty in four-year colleges and universities applied for research funds within the last two years either as principal investigator or as co-principal investigator (Table 6). Chicanos/Latinos or Hispanics in the social sciences are considerably more likely to

Table 2

Comparison of Academic and Political Views of US Professors by Total US Faculty and Hispanic Faculty 1984, 1987

Survey Question	"Agree with reservations" to "Strongly Agree"	
	Latino Faculty 1987*	All Faculty 1984**
A. In my field, a person's research inevitably reflects his or her political values. (Carnegie version: In my subject, a person's teaching and research	65.6	27.9
B. I consider myself an intellectual.	89.7	78.5
C. I consider myself a scholar.	93.1	
As an academic, I feel I		
D. share in a *tradition* of scientific research.	83.4	
E. share in a particular sense of belonging to a *scientific community.*	73.8	
F am committed to the *rules and standards* for scientific pursuits.	84.9	
G. In my department, I feel accepted as a scholar on an equal basis.	76.3	

* Garza, H. (1987). [National Latino Faculty Survey.] Unpublished raw data.

** Chronicle of Higher Education. (1985). 1984 Carnegie National Faculty Survey

Table 3

Perceptions of Chicano and Puerto Rican Faculty on How Latino Group-Based Research is Rated in Academic, by University Prestige, 1987

Question	All Universities			High ** Prestige Universities			Low ** Prestige Universities		
	N	#*	%	N	#*	%	N	#*	%
A. Research by members of my own racial or ethnic group is seen as academically inferior and illegitimate within my department	124	54	43.5	68	34	50.0	58	17	29.3
B. Research on the topic of my own racial or ethnic group is seen as academically inferior and illegitimate within my department	124	49	39.5	69	33	47.8	57	15	26.3
C. In your opinion, how do you think research on your own ethnic/Hispanic group is generally rated by those in decision making positions in most academic depts of US universities?	104			56			49		
Low no matter what person or group does it		47	45.2		31	55.4		18	36.7
High(er) when Anglos or non-Hispanics do it		42	40.4		19	33.9		22	44.9
High(er) when members of my own ethnic or Latino/ Hispanic group do it		9	8.7		5	8.9		4	8.2
High no matter what person or group does it		6	5.8		1	1.8		5	10.2

Source: Garza, H. (1987). [National Latino Faculty Survey]. Unpublished raw data.

* Answering "Agree with reservations" to "Strongly agree"

** See Endnote #4.

percent compared to 2.4 percent) where applied research is more common.

Social Pressures and Time Demands

Another important area in which Chicano/Latino scholars seem to stand out among most university academics is in the pressures and demands that are made on their time. Since quite often they may be the only Chicano/Latino in the department, they are highly sought after to participate in a plethora of minority-related committee meetings. Among the top reasons (ranked fifth out of 18 reasons) psychology department chairpersons state for the lack of tenure among minorities is "Being given too heavy teaching/advising/committee load" (Suinn & Witt,1982).[5] Moreover, because of their singular status, nearby Latino communities and university students also make excessive demands on their time. For example, three out of every four (73 percent) Chicano and Puerto Rican faculty combined feel they have greater demands made on their time than do "Anglo" or non-Hispanic white professors.

These types of "minority service" are not used to evaluate the minority scholar for tenure and promotion. Moreover, as Suinn and Witt (1982) note, "minority service," when used, is negatively evaluated. "Too much minority service" was seen by psychology department chairpersons as the number one obstacle to minorities receiving tenure (Suinn & Witt,1982).

There can be no doubt that the extent of extra pressures and demands from active political minority communities far exceeds those of the average professor. For example, monumental efforts are often made and energies expended by young Chicano and Puerto Rican scholars in attempting to "legitimate" their research topics and perspectives. This constantly open question of legitimacy (Garza, 1992, 1984; Rochin & de la Torre, 1986), combined with the battles for tenure, often mean that these young scholars often encounter "no-win," personally and professionally destructive situations. In addition to teaching, committee work, research and writing, obligations from Chicano/Latino students and community for attention, mean that they are often stretched to the limits with little or no institutional support or rewards for their efforts.

The various fronts on which these newcomer scholars have to "do battle" are often so varied and numerous as to make the strained, hectic pace of the modal young "white" professor in a typical department seem as if he or she is "having it easy." Besides going "at breakneck speed," they often find themselves exhausted, frustrated, discouraged, and wondering if it is all worth it (Garza, 1984). As Richard Robbins (1974) states in his short biography of Charles S. Johnson, the eminent sociologist from the African American community at the University of Chicago in the early 1900s:

> Given the depth and pervasiveness of racism in the United States, if a man or woman is a historian and black, a sociologist and black, then he or she is compelled to work out a distinctive role-balance between scholarship and advocacy, between creativity and commitment. . . . Whatever the balance achieved, precarious or seemingly serene, the inner costs exacted have often been high for a black scholar. (1974, pp. 57-58)

More recently, a comparative workload study in 1990 of faculty in the California State University system and other comparable universities across the country, found that racial/ethnic minority professors are more likely to have heavier university academic loads (CSU Faculty Workload Study, 1990). This does not even begin to address the pressures for their community involvement from their respective albeit needy surrounding communities. Yet these "extra-curricular activities" directly impact the amount of time they have to do the necessary research and writing, so important to their academic mobility and survival. Such activities are most often not evaluated as part of their

Table 4

How Often Chicano and Puerto Rican Faculty (Combined) in Four-Year Colleges and Universities Teach Classes on Subject of Own Ethnic Group and/or Hispanics, by Academic Field, 1987

Chicano/Puerto Rican Faculty

How Often	Education	Humanities	Social Sciences	Ethnic Studies	Total
Never to Rarely	16 36.3	8 19.0	11 42.3	1 7.7	36 28.8
Sometimes to Always	28 63.7	34 81.0	15 57.3	12 92.3	89 71.2
Total	44 100.0	42 100.0	26 100.0	13 100.0	125 100.0

Source: Garza, H. (1987). [National Latino Faculty Survey]. Unpublished raw data, 1987.

tenure and promotion package by tenure and promotion committees. It seems that, particularly in those cases in which minorities are heavily involved in these types of activities, they are more apt to have inherently extra-academic evaluations enter into the equation either formally or informally, since they are seen as "spending too much time in minority service." There can be no doubt that these types of contradictory messages i.e., hired with the knowledge that the Chicano/Latino scholar is engaged in racial/ethnic research on the one hand, has more community-based demands on his or her time, and on the other, negatively evaluated for their "minority service" in professorial recruitment, placement and promotion place the minority scholar at a clear disadvantage. They are thus often caught in a "no-win" situation.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

I have tried to show that: 1) Chicanos/Latinos continue to be the most underrepresented racial/ethnic minority group in the U.S. professoriate; 2) substantial numbers of the Chicano/Latino group are concentrated in only certain fields of the academy, creating a sort of "academic barrio" or minority "dumping ground"; 3) this faculty subscribes to intellectual and academic values at rates as high or higher than non-Chicano/Latino faculty; 4) Chicano/Latino faculty have added pressures and demands on their time which, when considered for tenure and promotion matters, are negatively evaluated; 5) Chicano/Latino faculty are far from satisfied with the treatment they receive in the university; and relatedly 6) racial/ethnic group-related research continues to be seen as academically illegitimate and of inferior scholarly quality, and that those judgments by those in academic decision making positions often extend to minority scholars themselves.

There is no question that the situation at all levels of the education continuum from high school to graduate school and doctorate are far from optimum for minorities. These low levels of success seriously impact the production and recruitment "pipeline" of qualified and talented academics and researchers from minority communities, and quite likely have negative ripple effects in discouraging future generations of minorities from aspiring into higher education and university teaching and research.

The need for scholars and researchers from within these groups is extremely important. They play key roles as research-

ers, lecturers, advisors and spokespersons oftentimes on issues concerning Chicanos/ Latinos and racial/ethnic minorities. These are all issues which become increasingly pressing as these groups continue to dramatically increase in population size and as important national groups.

Minority faculty are instrumental in sensitizing educational, governmental and related agencies to minorities' educational needs by focusing university and national attention on previously neglected issues and topics. They also help create a culturally diverse, relevant, receptive and supportive university setting for minority students as well. This professoriate often plays key roles in attracting, retaining and graduating these students. Besides contributing generally through their roles as researchers and teachers to the advancement of learning and culture, they also directly contribute to the personal development of the young minds and leaders of each generation. The presence of these scholars on campus makes the experience and expectations of Chicano/Latino undergraduate and graduate students that much more meaningful in general and credible in particular. As scholars who may have themselves struggled to attain their own education and career, they are in particularly strategic positions to provide the necessary and meaningful role models, mentoring and motivation necessary for many Chicano/Latino and other minority students to stay and succeed in college. However, colleges and universities need to acknowledge this special resource and develop policies for incorporating these "extra skills" in tenure and promotion decisions.

Changing this less than optimal situation of Chicanos/ Latinos and other minorities in higher education and in the professoriate will take some strong medicine. Changes need to take place in recruitment, admissions, and hiring. Equally as important, if not more important, significant changes will need to be implemented within universities in treatment and evaluation of minorities and their scholarship. Relatedly, academic apertures and innovations will need to be made which both allow for these different perspectives as well as share decision making power with these new actors on the academic scene.

The world, but particularly this nation, is generally a kaleidoscope, a mixing bowl, a rainbow of people, nations and cultures. The very basis of the founding of this nation was diversity. It is, after all, this extraordinary diversity of peoples, cultures, perspectives, skills, etc. all working together in the same nation (sort of under the same roof) that gives

Table 5

Percent of Total Weekly Research Time Devoted by Hispanic Professors to Subject of Own Ethnic and/or other Latino/Hispanic Group(s)

Research by

Percent time	All Latino/ Hispanic	Chicano/ Puerto Rican	Other Latino /Hispanic Groups
0 (None)	23 (15.0)	19 (20.0)	4 (7.2)
1-40%	55 (35.9)	29 (30.5)	26 (46.4)
Total	n=151 (100.0)	n=95 (100.0)	n=56 (100.0)

Source: Garza, H. (1987). [National Latino Faculty Survey]. Unpublished raw data, 1987.

Table 6

Research by Hispanic Faculty at Four-Year Colleges and Universities in the US, 1987

Research Area	Rank	All Latino/ Hispanics	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central/ South American	Spanish
Co/Principal Investigator (a)		121 (57.7) n=210	67 (58.3) n=115	10 (58.8) n=17	8 (32.0) n=25	10 (43.5) n=23	25 (62.5) n=40
Basic Research (b)	1	175 (81.8) n=214	86 (78.2) n=110	13 (76.5) n=17	23 (92.0) n=25	19 (82.6) n=23	34 (87.2) n=39
Ethnic Research (c)	2	109 (51.2) n=213	69 (62.2) n=111	8 (47.1) n=17	13 (54.2) n=24	8 (36.4) n=22	11 (28.2) n=39
Applied (Community) Research (d)	3	71 (33.8) n=210	52 (47.3) n=110	7 (43.8) n=16	3 (12.5) n=24	4 (18.2) n=22	5 (13.2) n=38

Source: Garza, H. (1987). [National Latino Faculty Survey]. Unpublished raw data, 1987.

(a) Survey Question: Did you apply for funds as the principal or co-principal investigator during the last two years?
(b) Survey Question: Are you presently engaged in any independent research undertaken primarily to advance basic knowledge in your discipline?
(c) Survey Question: Are you presently engaged in a research project exclusively or primarily related to the study of your own ethnic group and/or other Latino/ Hispanic group(s)?
(d) Survey Question: Are you presently engaged in independent research undertaken primarily for applied or community-oriented purposes?

1. Independent research undertaken primarily to advance *basic* knowledge in my discipline.
2. A research project exclusively or primarily related to the study of your own ethnic group and/or other Latino/Hispanic group(s)?
3. Independent research undertaken primarily for applied or community-oriented purposes?

the United States its distinctive national character. It is truly time, particularly given the many eastern European nations' example (with their diverse cultural and national groups) of seeking democracy, to include in our own nation's notion of democracy the cultural democracy so strongly advocated for this country by Horace Kallen (1915, 1924) three quarters of a century ago. Differences and diversity are not this nation's weakness; they are its strength.

Short of serious and concerted efforts in these areas, with the appropriate commitment of necessary resources, it is doubtful the secondary social status of "minority" scholars will attenuate anytime soon nor their social scholarship receive the acceptance it deserves. Left unchecked, these problems will continue to divide the academy along racial/ethnic lines. Moreover, Chicano/Latino and other "minority" professors will continue to feel as unwelcome outsiders to academe, and universities will continue to

miss great opportunities for seriously enfranchising, incorporating and utilizing a rich, new resource. Universities who persist with "business as usual" will thus continue the cultural, intellectual, and structural lag between the given and the possible, between the past and the future.

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Notes:

[1] For theoretical discussions and analyses of "segmentation" as applied to labor markets and the subordinate placement and incorporation of minorities, see Michael Reich's Racial Inequality: A Political-Economic Analysis, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981; Michael Reich et al. "A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation," American Economic Review, vol. 58, no. 2, 1973; and Mario Barrera's Race and Class in the Southwest, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979

[2] This six percent figure includes both two-year and four-year colleges and universities. Since all available data seem to indicate a fairly high concentration of minorities in two-year colleges, it seems reasonable to deduce that the actual percentage of minorities as faculty in four-year institutions is significantly lower than this six percent. In California, for example, while 5.1 percent of the community college faculty in 1981 was Hispanic, only 2.5 percent of the California State University system and 2.4 percent of the University of California system faculties were made up by this group (California Postsecondary Education Commission data per personal correspondence with the Office of the President, University of California, Berkeley, April 14, 1986).

[3] The scores for both Figures 3 and 4 were derived on the following basis. The percentages that each national racial/ethnic group constitutes of the total U.S. doctorates awarded and of the total full-time faculty was divided by the percentage that each of these groups made up in the U.S. population for each of the two decennial census years (1980 and 1990). For example, in 1989 Hispanics constituted two percent of all full-time faculty in the United States. They made up 9 percent of the 1990 U.S. population. Dividing 2 by 9 yields the figure of .22 (rounded to .2). Hence, Hispanics are only one-fifth as represented in the pool of those holding full- time faculty appointments as they are in the U.S. population. Conversely, they are .8 or eight- tenths or eighty percent underrepresented in the ranks of the U.S. full-time professoriate. Observe in Figure 4 that in 1989 Asian/Pacific Islanders were 1.6 or sixty percent overrepresented among full-time professors, given their percentage of the U.S. population in 1990.

[4] The college and university classification system developed by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1976) is used in the assignment of colleges and universities in this paper to either high or low prestige categories as follows:

Research Universities I and II, High Prestige, equals Doctorate-Granting Universities I and II.

Comprehensive Universities and Colleges I and II, Low Prestige, equals Liberal Arts Colleges I and II.

[5] With regard to this workload issue, it is instructive to note that as a group Chicanos typically carry heavier academic teaching loads. This is above and beyond the heavier community needs and demands to which many, if not most, of them have to respond. For example, as footnote number two above clearly shows, Chicanos are much more likely to be teaching in colleges and universities where their workloads are significantly heavier (e.g., California State University compare with places such as UC Berkeley or Stanford with much lighter teaching loads). For more a discussion of these faculty workload issues, see the California Faculty Association's CSU Faculty Workload Study (1990).

[6] As Anthony Smith states: "Nationalism has endowed ethnicity with a wholly new self-consciousness and legitimacy, as well as a fighting spirit and political direction," The Ethnic Revival, 1981, p. 19, New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Analysis of Tenure Among Hispanic Higher Education Faculty

Richard R. Verdugo

It is commonly assumed that faculty in higher education are promoted on the basis of merit. But faculty do not spend all their time on research since there are other activities and responsibilities that compete for their time. Faculty members are frustrated by administrative and teaching responsibilities because they interfere with their scholarly pursuits.

The ability to balance research and teaching is further complicated by institution type. Some institutions of higher education are primarily teaching institutions and place less stress on research in promotion or tenure decisions, while others stress research. It would seem quite plausible, then, that the allocation of highly valued rewards in academe are affected by institution type. And it is within institutions that faculty attempt to find the balance between research and teaching if they expect to be rewarded with rank, salary or tenure.

In the broadest sense, institutions of higher education fall into one of three categories: large research-oriented universities; four-year colleges; and two-year community colleges. The environments within each of these kinds of institutions creates a problem for studying the reward allocation process among faculty because the weight attached to teaching and research differs significantly across each type of institution. Clark (1989), for instance, notes that teaching loads in the leading universities range from two to six hours a week, and faculty are expected to spend at least half of their time conducting research. In contrast, Clark notes that 12 hours in the classroom are common in four-year colleges, and classroom hours in community colleges range from 15 to 21 hours per week. Clark identifies several other factors that vary by institution type. As we descend the hierarchy, from universities to two-year community colleges, a greater proportion of the students are enrolled in remedial courses; the proportion of part-time faculty becomes greater; the institution is less prized for its scholarship and research, and peers are less likely to be a reference group—in short, the institutional culture is weaker and less satisfying; faculty authority grows weaker (that is, decision making is performed by school administrators); and union activity increases.

If academic cultures differ greatly by institution type, then it is quite possible that factors affecting the distribution of rewards, e.g., salary, rank, and tenure would also differ. In less prestigious academic environments where authority rests with school administrators, where teaching loads are heavy, and where peers are not the reference group, a smaller proportion of faculty are rewarded than faculty in more prestigious institutions. Research productivity is a tangible that peers and school administrators can quantify

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and use to promote faculty; teaching excellence is less quantifiable. Another explanation is that in large research universities, faculty work with administrators in developing standards that are used in the distribution of rewards. In less prestigious colleges, standards for the allocation of rewards are set by administrators who may not always have the interests of faculty in mind. Institution type, then, is an important factor in studying the allocation of rewards in higher education.

There is, then, an hypothesis that may be culled from this literature on how institution type affects the distribution of rewards in academe. Rewards to faculty are tied to four criteria: research, teaching, committee work, and community service. The weight assigned to each of these criteria in allocating rewards differs by institution type: universities give greater weight to scholarship than to other criteria in allocating rewards; four-year colleges give greater weight to teaching and some to scholarship in allocating rewards; and two-year colleges consider only teaching and student counselling in allocating rewards.

One group of faculty members for whom institution type might take a significant role in the allocation of rewards is Hispanic faculty. Indeed, a small but emerging literature points out that Hispanics faculty are severely under represented in higher education, that a large proportion are concentrated in less prestigious institutions, and that they face many forms of racism that affect their share of academic rewards, e.g., salary, tenure, rank (Arce, 1978; Fields, 1988; Garza, 1988; Olivas, 1988; Reyes and Halcon, 1988). The general sense that emerges from this literature is that the reward system works differently for Hispanic faculty than it does for non-Hispanic faculty. That is, those factors that are expected to affect rewards operate for non-Hispanics but do not for Hispanics. If this were the case we would expect that the hypothesis we have presented above would not apply to Hispanic faculty. This paper contributes some empirical findings to the small but growing body of literature on the Hispanic professorate. Specifically, we examine the effect institution type has on the probability of tenure (a highly desired academic reward). Before continuing, we would like to address a methodological point. Several colleagues are concerned that there isn't a control group of non-Hispanic faculty in our analysis. We have, we believe, two valid replies. First, our aim is to apply a theoretical framework among Hispanic faculty that has received considerable verification. To be sure, the framework isn't perfect since there are cases when academic rewards are denied to faculty who appear to have performed as expected. It is, nevertheless, a framework which is an important norm in academe and one by which faculty are evaluated. Methodologically, if we were estimating a model that has never been tested among faculty in general, then our colleagues would have a valid concern, but we are not. A second reply we have concerns the uniqueness of our analysis. Analyses among Hispanic faculty are rare, and analysis in this area only enhances our understanding of this somewhat unknown group. We therefore hope that our study is used as a benchmark for comparison among future studies of this group.

Model Rationale

The model to be estimated in this study contains items that we may call human capital items and a second set of control items. In higher education scholarly productivity and experience are linked to academic rewards. Indeed, the model most often thought to predict the allocation of academic rewards assumes this relationship. We have included three kinds of publication vehicles in our model: refereed journal articles, chapters in books, and books. However, because scholarship is not equally rewarded across institutions, we have also included other items in the model that are rewarded in some institutions but might not in others: items that measure the percent of time spent on research, teaching, preparing

to teach, committee membership, and community service activities.

Control items used in the model include academic discipline, Hispanic ethnicity (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South/Central American), gender, and country of birth. Academic discipline is used in the model because some fields grant academic rewards more easily acquired than others. Academic disciplines that are characterized by a high degree of consensus regarding theoretical frameworks and methods are more likely to grant tenure than those with lower levels of consensus. In this light, research has found that the physical and natural sciences have more consensus than do the social sciences and humanities (Lodahl & Gordon, 1972).

The Hispanic population is not homogeneous. Hispanics have different socioeconomic origins and different histories in the U.S. For example, Cubans and South Americans traditionally have been better educated and from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. If there is one consistent finding in the social stratification literature it is that persons from higher socioeconomic origins have greater socioeconomic achievements than persons from lower socioeconomic origins. The hypothesis, then, is that Hispanic faculty of Cuban or South/Central American ethnicity are more likely than other Hispanic ethnic groups to have teaching positions in universities and, thus, more likely to have attained tenure. Country of origin is also used as a control item.

Gender is used because research has shown that women earn less, and receive academic rewards more slowly than do their male counterparts. The poor experiences of female faculty in higher education has been noted by many scholars (La Sorte, 1971; Robinson, 1971).

The strategy to be employed in this study is to estimate the model separately among Hispanic faculty in university, four-year college and two-year community college settings. As we noted, the kind of institution in which a faculty member teaches exerts a powerful influence on how he is rewarded. In fact, Clark (1989) suggests that institution type "now plays an even more powerful role" in differentiating the professorate. This research also found that faculty authority varies by institution type. Faculty in university settings tend to work with administrators (who at one time may have been faculty) in setting university policy. This is not the case in less prestigious institutions where decisions are made independently by administrators. These findings have not changed much over the years as Clark (1989) notes. We therefore fully expect factors that affect the probability of tenure to vary by institution type.

Data

Several steps were taken in collecting data for this study. We began by collecting Hispanic surnamed faculty data from both the 1989 National Faculty Directory and a listing of Spanish surnames compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

In order to locate as many probable Hispanic surname faculty as possible, the list of Spanish surnamed faculty was then merged with the Higher Education Directory. The merging of the files provided two critical data: addresses and phone numbers. In total, 11,197 faculty with Hispanic surnames were identified . The sample was then stratified among 13 regions, and 473 Hispanic faculty were interviewed.

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for all items in the model, and Table 2 presents the probit coefficients and partial derivatives. Before continuing, a brief discussion will be made regarding the partial derivatives. The probit coefficients must be interpreted carefully because they do not represent the effect on the probability of tenure resulting from a one unit change in the corresponding independent variable in the model. Instead, the change in the probability of tenure resulting from a unit change in an independent variable depends on the probability of tenure and, thus, on the initial values of all

Table 1. Means and standard deviations by institution type

Variable	Univerity Mean	Std. Deviation	4-Year Mean	Std. Deviation	2-Year Mean	Std. Deviation
Tenure	0.71	0.46	0.68	0.47	0.63	0.48
Research	40.47	24.40	24.65	24.11	10.59	15.32
Teach	38.09	22.11	52.36	26.35	61.00	28.89
Committee	10.87	11.76	12.18	13.79	13.75	15.81
Community	7.44	12.79	9.30	12.50	10.58	15.24
Journal	20.17	20.97	13.23	19.61	2.43	5.69
Chapter	4.26	14.05	1.81	4.60	2.48	10.84
Books	1.19	2.31	1.13	2.71	0.19	0.73
Gender	0.90	0.30	0.81	0.39	0.67	0.47
Socsci	0.29	0.45	0.20	0.40	0.19	0.40
Humanities	0.19	0.40	0.36	0.48	0.27	0.45
Vocbus	0.04	0.20	0.07	0.25	0.22	0.41
Math	0.29	0.45	0.17	0.38	0.16	0.37
Medicine	0.13	0.33	0.17	0.37	0.09	0.28
MexAmer	0.31	0.46	0.38	0.49	0.70	0.46
Puerto Rican	0.10	0.30	0.14	0.35	0.06	0.24
Cuban	0.11	0.31	0.10	0.30	0.06	0.24
SCAmerican	0.26	0.44	0.25	0.43	0.06	0.24
U.S. Born	0.39	0.49	0.39	0.49	0.77	0.42
Experience	12.71	8.71	13.54	8.10	12.30	7.43
N	119		203		151	

independent variables and on their estimated coefficients. Specifically,

$$\text{ZProb}(Yi = 1)/\text{ZXij} = Bj(2)\text{-}2e\,[(\text{-}Z2)/2] = Bj(Z)$$

Where (*) is the standard normal density function and Prob(Y i = 1) ranges from zero to one. The expression above depends on the point at which (X'B) is evaluated. It will be higher at values of X'B that are close to the sample mean of Y and lower at probabilities of tenure close to zero and one. Partial derivatives, presented to estimate the effects of changing values of the independent variables on the probability of tenure, are also reported in Table 2. Partial derivatives were computed by evaluating the above expression at the sample means.

Data presented in Table 1 tend to confirm the imagery painted by Clark (1989) and others regarding the differentiating functions between large research universities, four-year and two-year higher education institutions. Hispanic faculty in university settings tend to spend more time on research and publishing than Hispanic faculty in four-year and in two-year settings. Hispanic faculty in university settings spend about 40 percent of their time on research and about 38 percent on teaching. In contrast, Hispanic faculty in four-year settings spend over half of their time teaching (52%) and only 25 percent of their time on research. Finally, Hispanic faculty in two-year colleges spend 61 percent of their time on teaching, and only 11 percent on research. Differences in how faculty spend their time are reflected in their publication records: Hispanic faculty in university settings have published, on average, about 20 refereed journal articles; faculty in four-year institutions about 13 refereed journal articles; and faculty in two-year institutions only about two articles.

In addition to teaching and research differences across institution type, Clark (1989) points out that faculty in four-year and two-year environments have less of a voice in policy-making than faculty in large research universities. In effect, less prestigious colleges are administrative environments where decisions are made by administrators. To be sure, research universities are also run by administrators but it appears that faculty and administrators collaborate on these efforts. Such a difference in authority may potentially affect the allotment of academic rewards to faculty for at least two reasons: when faculty have a hand in the decision making process it can be assumed they will look out for their interests, and second, the more prestigious an institution, the more highly it values its faculty: faculty make an institution's reputation. Data in Table 1 indicate that Hispanic faculty in university settings are more likely to be tenured than faculty in four-year and two-year colleges.

There are other important distinctions by institution type. To begin with, while the proportion of male faculty is greatest across all institution types, their dominance is least in two-year community colleges. In other words, there are more female faculty in the less prestigious two-year community colleges than in large research universities. In terms of Hispanic ethnicity, Mexican Americans comprise the largest proportion of Hispanic faculty at all institution types, reflecting their proportion of the U.S Hispanic population (about 62%). However, the proportion of Mexican Americans in two-year colleges is particularly great; Mexican Americans comprise 70 percent of Hispanic faculty in two-year colleges. Finally, the majority of Hispanic faculty in university and four-year colleges were not born in the U.S.; whereas Hispanic faculty in two-year colleges were, predominantly, born in the U.S.

Table 2 presents the results and partial derivatives—evaluated at the means—for a model of tenure among Hispanic faculty. Note that the model is estimated separately for faculty in university, four-year colleges, and in two-year colleges. Results from this model are not completely satisfactory, but do lend some additional evidence supporting the concerns about sector differences. In university settings, the environment is peer-

Table 2. Results from a probit model of tenure among Hispanic faculty by institution type

Predictor	University Probit Coefficient	Partial Derivative	4-Year Probit Coefficient	Partial Derivative	2-Year Probit Coefficient	Partial Derivative
Intercept	-2.5849		-1.5045		0.8923	
Research	0.0037	0.0015	-0.0007	-0.0003	-0.0184	-0.0175
Teach	0.0085	0.0035	0.0132	0.0053	-0.011	-0.0104
Committee	0.089	0.0363	0.0116	0.0046	-0.0015	-0.0014
Community	-0.0123	-0.0050	-0.0038	-0.0015	-0.0026	-0.0025
Journal	0.0319	0.0130	0.0101	0.0040	-0.0206	-0.0195
Chapter	0.1469	0.0599	0.1405	0.0561	0.0122	0.0116
Books	0.0461	0.0188	0.1859	0.0742	0.1446	0.1371
Gender	0.178	0.0725	0.3024	0.1207	-0.1652	-0.1567
Socsci	0.1208	0.0492	-0.4826	-0.1926	-0.1852	-0.1756
Humanities	0.3951	0.1610	-0.3005	-0.1199	-0.289	-0.2741
Vocbus	-0.5516	-0.2248	-0.1607	-0.0641	-0.4673	-0.4432
Mathematics	0.4903	0.1998	0.3104	0.1239	-0.4787	-0.4540
Medicine	-0.1555	-0.0634	-0.8181	-0.3264	0.1249	0.1185
MexAmer	0.7739	0.3154	0.3722	0.1485	-0.2996	-0.2841
Puerto Rican	0.9415	0.3837	0.4119	0.1644	-0.0393	-0.0373
Cuban	0.3551	0.1447	0.2715	0.1083	0.6166	0.5848
SCAmer	-0.5212	-0.2124	-0.144	-0.0575	-0.4699	-0.4456
U.S. Born	-0.2376	-0.0968	0.2962	0.1182	-0.0011	-0.0010
Experience	0.0739	0.0301	0.0463	0.0185	0.083	0.0787
L.R. Chi-Square	70.0084		166.3136		151.3986	

* Significant at .05 level.
** Significant at .10 level.

based: faculty have input into the decision making process and where rewards (including tenure) tend to be allotted on the basis of merit—where merit is based on scholarly productivity. While only three of the eleven items exert statistically significant effects on tenure in university settings, these three fall into the domain of the framework presented above. Thus, percent of time spent on committee work tends to increase the probability of tenure. In this study, the value of .089 for the estimated probit coefficient indicates that at the mean levels of the explanatory variables a one percent increase in the amount of time spent on committee work will result in the probability of tenure increasing by about .04. Scholarly productivity is also more highly valued in university settings. In fact, for faculty in such environments it may be the single most important factor determining academic rewards. Of the three publishing vehicles used in this study, only the number of refereed journal articles exerts a statistically significant effect on tenure. In fact, the number of refereed journal articles increases the probability of tenure by .013. Finally, teaching experience in higher education is associated with tenure. To wit, experience teaching in higher education among Hispanic faculty in university settings increases the probability of tenure by .030.

If university settings are places where faculty spend most of their time on research and less on teaching, faculty in four-year college settings spend most of their time teaching and little on research. Fortunately, Hispanic faculty in such settings are rewarded, in terms of tenure, for the amount of time they spend teaching. Indeed, among Hispanic faculty in four-year colleges, time spent teaching or preparing to teach increases the probability of tenure by .01. Though Hispanic faculty spend less of their time on research, they are rewarded for these efforts in terms of tenure. Publishing a chapter in a book increases the probability of tenure by .06 among Hispanic faculty in four-year institutions. Finally, as was the case among Hispanic faculty in university settings, experience teaching in higher education increases the probability of tenure by .02 for faculty in four-year institutions.

Two-year community colleges have students distinctly different from those in other institutions of higher education. They are most likely to be from working-class or blue-collar backgrounds, to have performed less well in high school, to be in remedial courses in order to learn basic skills, and are more likely to take vocational courses. In general, two-year community colleges are perceived as extensions of high schools, and places where students can learn a trade.

In terms of faculty, a large proportion do not have Doctorates, tend to be generalists rather than specialists, have heavy teaching loads, and tend to work in administrative environments—that is, decisions are more likely to be made by administrators. In such environments, it is little wonder that experience teaching in higher education is the only item to exert a statistically significant effect on tenure. Thus, experience teaching in higher education increases the probability of tenure among Hispanic faculty in two-year community colleges by .08.

Conclusion

Not all faculty in higher education are rewarded for their scholarly productivity; in fact, the heavy teaching loads of many faculty seriously hampers their being productive scholars. Institution type is an important factor that questions the generality of the traditional academic model. Differences regarding the management of the school, faculty culture within the institution, the quality of students, and, most important, the varying emphasis placed on research and teaching all affect how faculty spend their time and are thus rewarded.

Though previous research has identified several important problems facing the Hispanic professorate, it has failed to note how these problems might differ by institution type. In attempting to shed some light on one form of academic reward, tenure, we estimated a probit model of

tenure separately among a national sample of Hispanic faculty in universities, four-year institutions, and two-year community colleges. Results suggest that factors affecting tenure differ by institution type and tend also to support the notion that institution type greatly affects the tenure status of Hispanic faculty. That is, faculty in university settings spend more time on research and are rewarded for this activity, faculty in four-year institutions spend more time on teaching and a little on research and they too are rewarded for their efforts. Finally, faculty in two-year community colleges spend most of their time teaching, but, alas, they are not rewarded for their efforts. In fact, only one factor affects the probability of tenure among two-year community college faculty, teaching experience in higher education.

In conclusion, while Hispanic faculty in higher education face many problems, scholars and policy makers should consider institution type as one factor differentiating this group in formulating public policy.

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Experiences of Multiple Marginality: A Case Study of Chicana "Scholarship Women"

Holguin Cuadraz

In *Hunger of Memory*, Richard Rodriguez (1982) writes poignantly of his educational experiences as a Mexican American scholarship boy. The scholarship boy is portrayed as an "uprooted and anxious" individual, who, through the scholarship system, transcends class lines, only to remain an outcast in the new more privileged class (Hoggart, 1957). For Rodriguez, his path as a scholarship boy resulted in the loss of his Spanish language, culture, and intimacy between himself and family members.

The case study reported here explores the educational and life experiences of ten Chicana scholarship students. To illustrate their lives as scholarship students, childhood accounts were contrasted to their experiences as graduate students at a major elite university. The first objective was to consider the unique role of working class achievers in the conjunction of education and the social structure. The second objective was to locate the social and political context for their experiences in graduate education. As Rodriguez (1982) laments, "I was a scholarship boy who belonged to an earlier time. I had come to the campus singly; they had come in a group" (p. 160). The point is that the scholarship path was no longer simply a matter of individual achievement, but was a structural opportunity which became accessible to those who achieved but had historically been excluded. The third objective was to explore their life experiences as scholarship students, which were experiences of multiple marginality. In this context, "the simultaneity of experience" (Moraga, 1983; Zavella, 1989) may be best expressed as "simultaneous marginality": that is, their journeys out of the working class and into the predominantly middle-class environment of a major university (Karabel, 1975), combined with their membership in a racial group historically underrepresented in higher education (Astin, 1982; Clewell, 1987; National Board on Graduate Education, 1976; Olivas, 1986), and their socialization into the professional world of academia, an occupation historically reserved for middle-class white men (Adams, 1983; Hochschild, 1975; Ladd and Lipset, 1975; Ryan and Sackrey, 1984) resulted in a specific form of class, race, and gender-based experiences of "marginality."

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Marginality

The concept of marginality has been widely used in social science literature to describe the malaise of the individual caught between two cultures (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937). The concept has been criticized for its statistical and analytic limitations, its basis upon a stereotype, and its largely descriptive nature, at the

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expense of social structural analysis (Antonovsky, 1956; Garza, 1984; Golovensky, 1952; Green, 1947). For this study, however, Stonequist's (1937) argument that the marginal man plays a key role in social change is relevant, for it is their relationship to dominant groups that enables marginal individuals to affect the course of future social relationships between members of both groups. Discussing its applicability to Chicano intellectuals, Garza (1984, p. 27) argues that the concept of marginality is useful because it conveys the information "that something is peripheral to or removed from something else." Stonequist's attribution of the marginal individual's role in social change and its usefulness as a device to capture the experience of "not belonging," is important for the combined race, class, and gender tensions of women who moved from one status to another. I argue that as scholarship students, the women experienced the constraints of a social structure that set them up to experience their daily lives as "others." Yet, as Freire (1982, p. 61) argues, "the oppressed are not 'marginals,' ...They have always been 'inside'—inside the structure which *made them beings for others'*. (emphasis added) As insiders to a social structure which reproduces inequality, the irony is that because these women gained greater access to the 'centers' of elite institutions via the scholarship path, their simultaneous marginality became one of a privileged nature relative to their communities of origin. Thus, as individuals from working-class backgrounds, as members of a racial group, and as women, who had in common the trajectory of the scholarship path, they were in a unique position to experience the contradictions of being 'inside' in an 'outside' way.[1]

Cultural Capital

In Bourdieu's (1977) view, educational institutions play a central role in the reproduction of class relations. While education in modern democratic societies is believed to play a role in reducing social inequalities, Bourdieu claims that educational systems reinforce, perpetuate, and legitimate the present "cultural and status cleavages" by converting social class inequalities into academic inequalities. Rather than reduce inequalities, the schools exacerbate the differences. The transmission of social inequality occurs because children from dominant-group families possess "cultural capital" similar to that of the educational system and minority group families do not. Working-class and non-dominant group children possess cultural capital too, but it is incongruent with the symbolic and social expectations of the school system. When children enter the schools, Bourdieu maintains that a child's attitudes and perceptions toward education are part of a "class ethos"—a system of implicit and deeply internalized values which helps to define attitudes toward cultural capital and educational institutions" (Bourdieu & de Saint-Martin, 1974, p. 32).

The schools play as important a role as the family in determining an individual's educational expectations. The schools rely on the student's possession of the appropriate cultural capital, acquired prior to entering school, to determine who will succeed. The schools require of its students that "they should have what it does not give" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 494). The socialization that takes place in the schools is thus merely a continuation of the socialization middle and upper-class students receive in the home.

Working class high achievers enter the educational system without the requisite cultural capital but they have acquired "scholastic cultural capital" because of "exceptional intellectual ability, individual effort, and unusual home or social circumstances" (Swartz, 1977, p. 550). Because these students do not possess broad cultural knowledge, their social mobility is limited. The controlled social mobility of working-class high achievers contributes to the social stability of the class structure. Moreover, the meritocratic ideology of democratic societies is reinforced by the educational attainment of a few individuals, which masks the social reality

of inequality. The educational system reproduces the existing class hierarchies and supports meritocratic ideology by allowing a few working class individuals to acquire status and economic rewards through education; by implication, through their own efforts working-class children who fail to acquire scholastic cultural capital can then be held responsible for their failure to achieve.

From this perspective, Chicanas from the working-class enter the schools without dominant cultural capital. The Chicana scholarship students, however, acquired scholastic cultural capital, which enabled them to proceed through institutions of higher education. Bourdieu's image of incorporation for those from the working class who achieve scholastic cultural capital overemphasizes adaptation to and legitimation by the dominant culture. He underestimates contradictions, resistance and nonconformity and overestimates the extent to which these individuals rely solely on their own efforts to succeed (for critical review, see Lamont & Lareau, 1988). As they proceeded on the scholarship path, their experiences as scholarship students went far beyond individual achievement.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The presence of Chicanas in institutions of higher education, particularly graduate education programs, is a relatively recent phenomena. In order to understand the experiences of the Chicanas I interviewed, it is important to include both "troubles and issues, both biography and history" (Mills, 1959), for they form a particular generation (Mannheim, 1952). The women in my sample entered graduate school during the second decade of what has been called the "golden age of higher education", 1960-1980 (Hodgson, 1978). During the 1960s, the United States economy experienced tremendous economic growth (Ryan and Sackrey, 1984) and institutions of higher education underwent "democratization" (Finkelstein, 1984; Ryan & Sackrey, 1984). The role of the federal government became increasingly significant by providing financial assistance to working-class students historically disenfranchised from institutions of higher education (Garza, 1984; Karabel, 1983; Ryan & Sackrey, 1984). In response to civil rights protests by Blacks, Chicanos, women, and others, the federal government also played a role in implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which laid the legal basis for affirmative action in higher education.

This generation of Chicanas in doctoral programs was part of the "wave" of Chicanas who entered this stratum of the academy "in a group" and became part of an intelligentsia that originated out of a highly politicized era. Even though the 70s signified a retrenchment of some civil rights gains, the early seventies were marked by the drive to increase the number of students of color in graduate school. By the middle of the decade, the National Board on Graduate Education (1976) was reporting a decline for Blacks and a stasis for Chicanos.

The University of California participated in the national impetus to increase the presence of students of color and women in its graduate programs. As a flagship campus, the University of California, Berkeley holds a national reputation for its graduate programs; as a result of increased federal support, private scholarship monies, and the establishment of its own campus funding source and programs, it joined in the national effort to expand the provision of opportunity at the graduate level.

The University of California, Berkeley is also well-known as a site of numerous social protests that erupted during the sixties. The Free Speech Movement in 1964, anti-war rallies, the New Left, the Grape Boycott launched on behalf of the labor struggles by the United Farm Workers, the Third World Strike, People's Park, the Women's Movement, and countless other political mobilizations were centered on the campus (Rorabaugh, 1989). Because Berkeley is renowned for its liberal political per-

spectives, it may partially account for the experiences and perspectives the women conveyed in the interviews.

National Research Council data (1985) on doctorate recipients, 1975-1985, found that Hispanic women increased their proportion of total doctorates earned by United States citizens and increased their proportion within their own ethnic group during this ten-year period. Hispanics as a group (men and women) increased their national percentage of all United States citizens earning the Ph.D. from 303 (1.2 percent) in 1975 to 559 (2.5 percent) in 1985. Hispanic women earned 61 (20.1 percent) of the doctorates within their own ethnic group in 1975, and by 1985, had narrowed this gap, earning 261 (46.7 percent) of the doctorates earned by Hispanics, representing an increase of 328 percent. The proportion of all U.S. Ph.D.s earned by Hispanic women increased from 0.2 percent in 1975 to 1.1 percent in 1985.[2]

The systematic collection of enrollment and graduation data, by ethnicity and gender, does not begin until the 1975-76 academic year. This is the case for both state and national data. Studies with a focus on Hispanics consistently note the problem of unreliable and incompatible data sets (Olivas 1982a). Thus, accurate data on the number of Chicanas enrolled in doctoral programs on the Berkeley campus during the decade in question are not available. Data was obtained, however, for UCB doctorates conferred for the thirteen-year period between 1975-76 and 1987-88. These figures do not inform us of how many Chicanas entered doctoral programs during the 70s and did not complete their degrees; they do provide us with a clue about the low number of doctorates awarded to Chicanas. Across all disciplines for this time period on the Berkeley campus, out of the 10,294 doctoral degrees awarded, Chicanas earned a total of 29 (0.3 percent). Out of 1621 doctoral degrees conferred in the social sciences, the academic field in which Chicanas are most highly represented, a total of 11 (0.6 percent) were earned by Chicanas.[3]

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample Selection

The sample consisted of ten Chicana scholarship students who enrolled in a social science doctoral program between the years 1970 to 1980 at the University of California, Berkeley. At the time of the interviews, five of the women were in the midst of their programs and five had completed their programs. The women were identified and selected based on knowledge about their existence and information obtained from key informants.

Class background was based on respondents' description and identification; those parents' whose occupations fell under traditionally defined blue-collar or service sector and operative work were classified as working-class. Eight Chicanas identified their backgrounds as working-class. Two women described their original family backgrounds as working-class but indicated their families had experienced mobility into the lower-middle class.

Data Collection

I conducted open-ended interviews that ranged from two to four hours, guided by a list of topic areas. The first area covered the respondents' families, their parents' education and occupations, childhood experiences, and the communities in which they were raised. In the second topic area, the women were asked questions about the kinds of schools they attended, their attitudes toward school, major successes or failures in school, aspirations, relationships with teachers, awards, and achievements. Similar questions were asked about their experiences in higher education. In the interview, I also inquired about the significance of education upon their political and personal development. The third topic area asked the respondents' reasons for attending graduate school, and for choosing their field of study, their relationships with faculty, and the development of their educational and research interests.

FINDINGS

As the daughters of farmworkers, meatpackers, maids, homemakers, and the unemployed, the Chicanas conveyed a "matter-of-factness" about what their parents did for a living, keenly aware that their parents' occupations were low-paying, no status, many times back-breaking labor. That their parents had limited opportunities in life was a reality to which they had grown accustomed. It was a reality made all the more stark by the fact that the majority of students they eventually encountered within their doctoral program had parents whose occupational statuses placed them squarely among the successful, middle and upper-middle classes.

Whether their parents were first generation immigrants from Mexico or whether they could trace familial roots in the United States several generations back, the majority of the parents' educational attainment was low. Eight of the mothers had not attended school beyond the sixth grade, while two of the mothers had graduated from high school. The one college graduate was the father of the one woman whose family became middle-class. With the exception of Vera's father, who obtained a GED later in life, none of the other women's fathers had but a few years of schooling at the elementary level. In some cases, no formal schooling had taken place.

Six of the women in my sample reported being labelled early in their schooling years as "bright students." On the one hand, as scholarship students, they were assured of their worth; on the other hand, as women of Mexican descent, they experienced blatant and subtle occurrences of racism, which devalued and demeaned them. They felt they were perceived as something special in one context, yet something less in another. Norma conveyed the mixed messages of her early educational experiences:

> One real vivid impression is always being the new kid in class, so always going through a process where the teacher checked me out and immediately assumed that as a Mexican girl I was dumb. Of course, I was pretty quiet. It was always the spelling test; that was usually the first indication of what I was capable of. It was almost predictable. After the first spelling test, then the teachers would say something to the effect, "Gee, you're so different from the other Mexicans," or "It's going to be so nice working with you."

Helen, on the other hand, who was tracked into remedial groups until the fourth grade, spoke of her efforts to be included among the bright students. After becoming aware that she was not being placed in the top group, as a "redbird" she asked to be allowed into the "white group," as she referred to it (the orange birds). After completing the red bird series, she recalls saying to the teacher:

> I want to go to the orange book. Well, the teacher said, "You can't." See, the orange book was where all the white kids were. . . . And my group was where all the Mexicans and Asians were. There were some Asians in the orange book, but there were no Mexicans <u>at all</u>. I remember that, because I was the smartest Mexican in the class. I know that. . . . So I said "what do I have to do to get in the orange book, because I'm <u>done</u> with the red book."

Her story continued to explain how she took a succession of tests until she got into the orange group. Stories such as these, of their attempts to persevere, and at some level to basically overcome others' assumptions about their limitations as Mexican women, became a common theme as they proceeded on their scholarship paths.

When asked what they remembered the most about growing up and their early educational experiences, the women talked about feeling of "being different" or feelings of "separation" from their peers. Nellie shared such feelings about her peers.

> I can remember feeling separated from the other kids in the classroom as far back as second grade. I still remember sitting in the back of the room helping the kids who didn't know English

with their schoolwork. Because I knew both Spanish and English, I was serving as an interpreter and teacher for my own peers at a very early age.

Feelings of being different derived from mixed messages about their racial identity. The pervasiveness of such powerful messages quickly developed into an acute sensitivity to their "differences." As scholarship students, their achievements and the experience of being perceived as unlike "the other Mexicans" most often placed them amongst white students in the high-tracked groups. Their racial marginality within this context then intersected with their gender in an interesting manner. The issue which arose centered around being "smart and pretty." The women shared vivid memories of who received the attention from teachers and classmates in this regard. At very early ages, the women were forced to assimilate how they were special because they were "smart," but because of the negative attributions about their racial identity, expressed feelings that they were still not quite as "good" as the other girls. Elba, for example, in spite of being fair-skinned, described racism as the overriding experience of her childhood. In this context, she described how at the age of seven she was determined to change her name so she could be more like her friends, who were predominantly white. She thoughtfully reminisced:

> It's a strong sense of wanting to be different than I was. And I could even be specific. I knew I wanted to have blonde hair and blue eyes. And I wasn't too upset about the color of my skin; if I could just add the blonde hair and blue eyes.

Feeling "different" also resulted in feelings of being "left out." The following excerpt hints at the effects these feelings had for the development on self-esteem. When asked what she remembered the most about growing up, Vera responded:

> I remember a lot of times people would have parties and a lot of the other girls in my class would be invited but it wouldn't be me. And the ones that would be invited, would of course, be the Italian girls and the white girls. But, I sort of never understood why I wasn't being invited. I always thought it was because I was ugly. In my own understanding, I just thought I was plain ugly.

Along with the developed sensitivity to their racial identity came an understanding that being Mexican meant learning there were certain socially prescribed limitations. Vera shares her early memories of developing racial awareness.

> You know, every girl's dream is to be a cheerleader, so I always wanted to be a cheerleader. I remember Mrs. Sandoval telling me, "Are you crazy, you can't be a cheerleader; they don't let the Spanish girls be cheerleaders." So that was the first time I said, "Oh, hmm." That was the first time anyone articulated that to me.

Vera, as other respondents, came to understand that being Mexican meant a climate of presumptuous limitations on what could or could not be accomplished.

Class marginality is the most difficult dimension of their marginality to capture. Unlike the ascriptive nature of racial and gender marginality, class marginality became more pronounced as they advanced into the culture of the academy. On the one hand, the scholarship trajectory rendered them marginal to their class of origin; on the other hand, they were marginal to the middle class environment in which they came to achieve. For example, Norma, one of twelve children, spoke of how books became a refuge for her as a child and how it became one means through which she escaped the crowded conditions of the converted garage which she and her three sisters shared. After weekly trips to the library, where she was allowed to check out five books per week, she would "read and read and read." Such stories, about finding "refuge" in the scholarship path were common.

Graduate School: "What am I doing sitting here?"

These Chicanas were among a select few within their own racial and cultural group engaged in the attainment of doctoral degrees at a major institution where their daily reality included interactions with an elite white culture. One dimension of their marginality, therefore involved the cultural conflict they experienced as members of an ethnic minority that has historically been assigned second class status in the United States.

Perceptions about how they came to be in a doctoral program were often portrayed by the women as one of "chance" and "luck." Yet, when probed to elaborate on this viewpoint, it became evident there was a basis for this "luck," resulting from the opening of structural opportunities in higher education and the increased availability of monies and institutional resources especially targeted for racial minorities during this specific historical period. The "bottom line", as Sandra put it, "was the financial aid. No matter how smart or motivated I was, I couldn't have done it without the money that I've gotten." All the women had been recipients of one form or another of financial aid, grants, and scholarships, in addition to working their way through school.

Time and time again, the women spoke about the significant influence that one or two key individuals had in guiding their persistence through the scholarship path. For example, when Sandra had been denied admission to the undergraduate institution of her choice, a Chicana counselor on the university staff stepped in and agreed to take full responsibility for her progress. The exception was granted and Sandra graduated with a 3.4 grade point average. Stories of such intervention were common throughout the interviews, strongly suggesting the critical role that "institutional insiders" played in these women's lives as scholarship students. Nellie explained how she "didn't even know what graduate school was, had never heard of it" until a Chicano counselor identified her as a good student and encouraged her to pursue a doctorate.

Then there was Alicia's story, whose path into a doctoral program began when she took a course as an undergraduate with a group of Chicano graduate students. She declared:

> They encouraged me, practically forced me to apply to graduate school. Without them I would've never done it. They practically sat me down and forced me to do this thing.

Unlike middle class students, whose attainment of postsecondary education is perceived as a continuation of their parents' achievements and lifestyle, for these Chicanas, acquiring an education instead represented the opportunity to take advantage of opportunities their parents had not had. It meant doing "good" by the sacrifices their parents had made in order for them to have better opportunities.

In response to a question about her early experiences in graduate school, it came of no surprise that Alicia was indeed sensitive to her "differences." She clamored,

> I remember one time sitting in the class and I started writing and asking myself—what am I doing sitting here? What am I doing with my life sitting in this room, listening to all this garbage that has absolutely no relevance to anything—at least I couldn't see any relevance to anything.

Vera relates the following analysis, which reflects a sensitivity to their differences, present in the accounts by the Chicanas.

> When I stop and consider what I was saying and thinking my first year here, I had nowhere near the articulation powers I have now. There was a great deal of logical inconsistency, impreciseness to my language. By my first year my confidence was thrashed because I couldn't write, couldn't speak; I mean, I was a minority kid who hadn't had the training all these people had and was basically being given a chance.

Norma recalled one incident in graduate school which involved Elba, another Chicana member of her cohort. Interestingly, both women separately raised this particular incident as an example of how their concerns and perspectives were often treated with disdain by faculty members unaccustomed to their world views. Elba recounted:

> Probably the worst experience I've ever had was in a theory course where I wrote a paper about ____, for writing as if he was in a vacuum, not recognizing the realities of racism from all over the world. And the professor wanted me to read the paper before the class. Without telling me he invited the widow of ____ to sit in on the class. He didn't introduce her until I had delivered the paper. He did it deliberately. He proceeded to destroy my paper and to talk about how it was ideology and not (discipline x).

For Norma, the incident had the following significance:

> He lectured her (Elba) and told her, if you want to change the world, then get out of (department X). This is not about social change. This is about learning (discipline x). Of course, those stories circulated and we got the message to shut up. We were not allowed to ask certain questions. It was devastating. I remember after that quarter I was so unhappy. I was so depressed.

For both Elba and Norma, the source of tension came both from the outright suppression of certain political views and the extent to which such action restimulated painful memories of the past.

Profoundly, in spite of their advancement within their respective graduate programs, their "acceptance" was rarely without problematic qualifications. Vera vividly recalled the parting words of her Department Chairperson, a year before she actually completed her doctorate.

> I don't care about your process; you may very well have come the furthest of anybody who has ever come into this department — the person who has started the lowest and come the furthest. That doesn't mean anything to me. I don't care about the process. All I care about is where you end up.

Why don't you just come out of the closet and call yourself a feminist?

Gender marginality for these women goes beyond the tension over traditional and modern roles, although this is certainly one level of strain. At the heart of it is the universal issue of patriarchal domination and women's subordination. But the experience of subordination takes on different forms and meanings, depending on their structural and cultural relationship to the particular social group in question (Zinn, 1982).

As scholarship women their gender socialization provides another dimension to their class dislocation. Recent works by Chicana scholars argue it is necessary to explore family ideology, particularly Chicano family ideology, in order to understand the conflict experienced within the domain of the family unit (Pesquera, 1985; Segura, 1986; Zavella, 1987). By family ideology, Zavella (1987) is referring to the assumptions about proper men's and women's roles, where, "traditionally, men are breadwinners, whereas women are supposed to sacrifice their careers and minister to family needs, especially those of children" (p. 5). Literature on traditional Chicano families places overriding importance on the extended family, the sex-role segregation between men and women, age-based authority, while little value is placed on independence, achievement and deferred gratification. The process of acquiring degrees in higher education, however, places high value on the latter characteristics. To the extent that traditional family ideology has affected these women, it is important to understand this source of strain, primarily because it provides insight into one of the barriers they traversed in order to proceed on their scholarship paths. By pursuing advanced degrees and the scholarship path into academia, these women have defied traditional family ideology.

A major finding which surfaced in the interviews was the gradual transition from the cultural nationalism of the Chicano Movement to the feminism of the Women's Movement. As their lives unfolded, it became evident that an ideological shift occurred, based on their daily experiences as scholarship women and their involvement in political activities of the time. The shift, however, did not entail a complete abandonment of either ideology, but instead, involved a reconceptualization which would more accurately reflect their own daily realities as Chicanas.

The women had varying degrees of involvement at different points in their lives with the Chicano Movement. Most of the women became involved with the activities of the Movement through their roles as students. At one end of the spectrum was Alicia, who was involved in activities ranging from the organizing of farmworkers for the United Farm Workers to efforts to establish Chicano Studies programs on college campuses.

At some point I decided education was useful as a tool to help you understand your own reality and then figure out how to transform your reality. So that was what motivated me, what interested me, that particular process—not so much a career orientation. At that point all I wanted to do was be a full-time political activist. I didn't care about anything else. I didn't care how I survived; that was kind of immaterial.

The impact of the Movement on the development of their academic interests was tremendous. In fact, several of the women attributed their presence in academia now to the beliefs which the Chicano Movement instilled. Elba clearly articulated her viewpoint:

The reason I got my education has more to do with my political leaning than anything else. If I were to credit one thing for being where I am, it is the politics of the time and my anger at the injustices, and my anger at the racism. Anger can be a very motivating emotion.

Their participation in Chicano organizations provided a concrete basis for the women to identify with the issues being raised by the Women's Movement. It was their experiences within these organizations that led them to question the sexism within the Chicano Movement. As massive protests declined in the early 70s, Elba recounts what happened, "At some point, the few women that were around were recognizing that these meetings were being dominated by men. In the Chicano Movement as a whole, women were saying—we went through this major struggle with you in the campus and the community as a whole, but now that the main struggle has subsided, and we're going along into building, it's time to take a more assertive role."

An example of becoming aware of their role as women was shared by Norma in this account of her early days of involvement in United Mexican American Students (UMAS):

I remember at the first meeting I was elected secretary and came away from the meeting feeling real excited. I came across this Chicano who had not been at the meeting and told him. He responded, "Well, what do you expect, of course you were elected secretary!" There was a resentment there. I didn't quite understand it so I shined it on. The thing that's interesting is that I was one of the original organizers, yet, I ended up being the secretary. And it never occurred to me that there was any problem with that. The people who had been elected president and vice-president were men I had recruited and were men who had initially resisted.

It was incidents such as the above, however, which led them to establish networks with other graduate students and respond to the alienation and frustrations with graduate school. The Chicana Colectiva comprised of Chicana graduate students from various disciplines, formed in 1976, and was instrumental in providing a forum for discussion of feminist issues. The women utilized the group as both an academic and personal support group. Norma explained, "Part of participating in Chicano academia was having a women's group that would help

deal with the sexism by the men, their lack of legitimation of women's issues, and their lack of concern with what we were interested in." Norma recalled:

In the Colectiva we used to talk about feminism—whether we were feminists or not. I used to lean towards feminism because it seemed appropriate. We came to conclusion that we acted like feminists even though we didn't call ourselves feminists. I remember a friend of mine, (outside of the group), just got impatient one time and said, "Why don't you just come out of the closet and call yourself a feminist?" I thought she's right. If I act like a feminist, why don't I identify with them, with their support and the feminist movement. So I started doing it.

Evident in this quote, however, is the tenuousness with which feminism was initially embraced (others have also cited this tendency: see Garcia, 1989; Zavella, 1989). Just as sexism in the Chicano Movement presented problems, the women also spoke about the ways in which the Women's Movement was limited in its ability to address non-middle class concerns and issues of racism.

Support versus Sabotage: The Private Sphere

In the private sphere, two kinds of stories were conveyed. At least three of the women said they could not have achieved their accomplishments without the support of their husbands. While not without its difficulties, the support rendered to them by their spouses was vital to their development and progress. Conversely, several of the women attributed a partial development of their feminism to power struggles with the men in their lives. For example, Alicia spoke of her ex-husband's support, or rather, lack of it as "subtle sabotages" and "not so subtle sabotages." As a first year graduate student she had written a research proposal that would've involved fieldwork in Mexico. She asked him to read it and recalled his response, "He read it and he looked at it, threw it down and said, 'what the hell do you expect me to do with this place for a couple of years while you do this?" She said , "I never even thought of doing it after that.

Nellie spoke of an argument where her partner threw two shelves of an entire wall's worth of her books to the floor, in the midst of telling her he was "sick of her university." Similarly, Elba recalled the unhappiness of her first marriage. Having left school to get married, she later recognized that she really wanted school:

I subscribed to book clubs and had all these books coming. I read everything I could get my hands on. In fact, some of my arguments with my husband were around the books. He didn't like me reading books. He'd tear them up on occasion. Finally, after four years I decided I didn't want anymore of this, took my son, pinned a note to the door and said, "I'm leaving" and left everything. I couldn't drive at the time so a girlfriend came and got me and drove me straight to College X. And I enrolled . . .that same day. I never looked back.

When their constraints in the home are placed in the context of their struggles in graduate school and the larger social environment, the marginality of their experiences as scholarship women becomes ever more apparent. Like the mixed messages they received as children about their special worth, on the one hand, and their demeaned value, on the other, the duality of the messages continued through their adult lives. Alicia's version of one such contradiction illustrates the complexity, "One of the things my ex-husband said that really attracted him to me was the fact that I was strong, that I had a mind, that I had things to say. So he was apparently attracted to a strong woman. But when it came down to the daily reality of it all, it just wasn't quite attractive to him."

I can't be a quitter

There was not a single strategy utilized by all the Chicanas to cope with the strains and demands of their programs. Instead, they used an assortment of strategies and coping mechanisms. While one "avoided the department like

the plague" another spoke of "hanging around with the white Harvard males." For others, their involvement in political activities allowed them the ability to place their graduate school experiences in perspective. For several, family obligations and childrearing served as a deterrent to agonizing over the graduate school process. Family thus became one safe "haven" which allowed them to maintain a distance from departmental politics. For those women without immediate family, contact with extended family members and friendships became another way in which they reconstructed a semblance of family life.

The major finding was the critical importance played by the formation of Chicano academic support groups to these women's negotiations through graduate school. When asked about their positive experiences in graduate school, the women often referred to the critical difference involvement in such organizations made in continuing their programs. Vera, whose most positive experience in graduate school was organizing women of color, described her academic role as a clear extension of her political commitments. "The way I see my political role as it relates to my academic work is that I see myself as basically a soldier of ideas, a soldier of meaning, fighting the battle over meaning, fighting the battle over how ideas are constructed."

Several of the women initially belonged to one group of Chicano/a faculty and graduate students, the Chicano Political and Economic Collective (CHPEC) who reviewed and critiqued each other's work. As the women within this group developed a critique of patriarchy as a system of domination, a splintering occurred, with the women charging that sexism within the group was preventing a feminist analysis from moving forward. In its place, *Mujeres en Marcha* was formed in 1981. Since then, another organization was formed in 1982, *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social*, which involved Chicana graduate students and faculty from other Northern California campuses.

Regardless of how the women chose to construct their respective academic and political roles, the grounds were inevitably politically-based. For the very essence of what they represent, as working class Chicanas surviving at an elite university, is constantly brought to bear on their experiences. Alicia's struggle to complete her doctoral program became one of sheer determination. She confessed, "I can't be a quitter. I can't quit, because then I'm just reinforcing the stereotypes they have of us anyway. So I just kept going."

Thus, the women's graduate schooling years provided one context for the development of their research interests in Chicano and Chicana Studies and Feminist scholarship. Yet, pursuing the academic career for the sake of the profession itself was virtually absent from their discussions. Instead, their concerns were directly tied to issues of a political nature. As Alicia commented, "If I come to the position where all I can do is be an academic, I'm going to be extremely upset, disappointed and traumatized." Such a sentiment was common among the women, as their attention to issues of the "oppressed," particularly those of women within their own ethnic group, formed the basis for the future direction of their research and academic interests.

I'll always be a Misfit. That's my Life.

The women's narrative about their early schooling years revealed a pervasive marginality based on their race, gender and class. Their early childhood accounts, as they relate both to their educational experiences and family lives, contrasted sharply with issues prominent in their lives as graduate students. Their initial domestic worlds of the working class were displaced and replaced. Education was the medium through which they entered other worlds.

In accordance with Hoggart's (1957) claim about the scholarship boy, the Chicana scholarship women

became equipped for hurdle-jumping. They acquired the scholastic cultural capital necessary to achieve in school and to transcend class lines; yet, they have "neither the comforts of simply accepting the big world's values, nor the "recompense of feeling firmly critical towards them" (Stonequist, 1937). In the process of hurdle-jumping, they acquired many of the traits characteristic of Stonequist's marginal man. The simultaneity of their marginality is exemplified by their initial self-consciousness and sensitivity about their identity. In their childhood experiences, this is amply demonstrated in their accounts about coming to racial awareness.

Bourdieu's thesis about the unequal distribution of cultural capital and the perpetuation of social inequality provided a theoretical framework from which to understand the relationship of education and the social structure. In his quest to explain how the systems of domination are kept intact, however, Bourdieu excludes, as Swartz (1977) notes, "the consideration of contradiction as a generator of human action and social transformations. Symbolic violence and domination persist; only their disguises are altered." As the study conveyed, the scholarship trajectories of these Chicana scholarship women abounded with tensions. The acknowledgement of these tensions is important because their presence in institutions of higher education during the politically turbulent years of the "golden age of higher education" demystified and unmasked the very systems of domination which created the structural opportunities and conditions for their scholarship paths.

The social networks, formed in response to the political movements, to the conflicts within these movements, and their efforts to succeed academically, played an important part in their development. The ideologies prevalent during this period were instrumental in shaping these women's lives and directions they took. The women met resistance and contradictions throughout their scholarship paths. Their portrayal as high achievers is not so much a testimony of their exceptional talent, although they succeeded in spite of the barriers, as it is to collective action. The process of achievement during this historical period necessitated continuing the legacy of prior collective action in order to survive. They climbed the educational ladder and became scholarship women. They continue to negotiate the simultaneous marginality in their lives.

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Notes:

[1] An excellent essay that describes the phenomena of marginality for Black women in the academy as a status of "outsider within," is put forth by Patricia Collins (1986).

[2] We do not know from this national data, however, what proportion of those within the Hispanic category are Chicanos. Astin (1982) estimates the Chicano population represents 60 percent of the Hispanic category. We do not know to what extent this estimate would hold for men versus women, particularly given the existence of gender discrepancies, as those noted here.

[3] Office for Institutional Research. Doctoral Degrees: 1975-76 to 1987-88. Data Files. UC Berkeley.

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Hispanic Underrepresentation in Higher Education: A Personal Perspective

Mario L. M. Baca

Universities nationwide are actively engaged in programs with policies directed toward rectifying discriminatory practices of the past involving the matriculation and graduation of minority students in higher education and the hiring and promotion of minorities in academia. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action has provided little comfort to members of the Hispanic and Chicano[1] community who have been ignored by a system that is long on policy but short on practice. Adding to the problem are national and international factors that have had and will continue to have a direct impact upon the issue of Hispanic representation in Higher Education.

Today, we find ourselves faced with the consequences of an era of conservatism and a runaway national debt. The 1980s and 90s have been marked by a conservative shift in the American judicial system characterized by the steady erosion of civil rights and affirmative action policies fought for and enacted in earlier decades. America finds itself faced with growing economic competition from Europe and Asia, dependence upon foreign oil, and a shrinking economic pie saddled by the largest national debt in history. All of this is occurring at a time when the poverty and unemployment index is on the upswing and a tide of new refugees and emigrants from Latin America, Caribbean nations and Southeast Asia impact our schools and society. These and other factors play a significant role in the issues of Hispanic representation at the student, professorial, and administrative level in higher education.

Solutions to the problem of Hispanic under representation in higher education must take into consideration a host of concerns that are rooted deeply in economic, political, educational, institutional, and sociolinguistic realities.

Hispanic Status in American Society

Hispanics represent the fastest growing minority group in the United States. According to data from Current Population Reports, the *Fresno Bee* (Staff, 1991) states that the Hispanic population grew from 14.6 million in 1970 to 22.4 million in 1990 which is 9.0% of the total US. population. This represents a 53% increase from 1970 to 1990. Data also indicates that the Hispanic population increased by 34 percent (about 5 million people) between 1980 and 1988.

Of the various groups identified as "Hispanic," the single largest group is of Mexican origin. Mexican Americans account for 12.1 million or 62.3 percent of the Hispanic population. Data on the geographic distribution of Hispanics indicates that 55 percent of all Hispanics live in

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Texas and California while another 63 percent reside in the southwestern states of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado.

Large metropolitan areas have been especially impacted by the rise in minority populations. A recent article in the *Fresno Bee*, entitled "Hispanics, Asians dominate growth in US big cities", states that "while the total number of people of these population centers rose during the decade, the number of Asians jumped 127 percent and Hispanics increased by 59 percent" (Doig, 1991, p. A1).

By contrast, this article further states that the African American population in the 50 largest metropolitan areas increased by just 16 percent and the non-Latin White population increased by less than 3 percent and "four metropolitan areas, Miami, Los Angeles, New York, and San Antonio no longer have non-Latin White majorities" (*Fresno Bee*, April 1991).

Nowhere is the shift in population from majority white to minority as great as it is in California. California contains more than 1/3 of the nation's Hispanic population (Staff, 1991), and 25.8% of the states total population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). With 7.7 million Hispanics, California's Hispanic population increased by 69.2% between 1980 and 1990. About one half of the population rise was due to immigration, but according to the Fresno Bee (Staff, 1991), "the increase was also a result of high birth rates among Hispanic people, the legalization of many new Hispanic citizens, and the counting of illegal residence."

According to Catlin (1986), the overall population in California will grow by one-third between 1980 and the year 2000. Catlin (1986) states that while the number of Anglos will grow by 10.6 percent, Black populations will expand by 25 percent and Hispanic and Asian populations will increase by 50 percent. What then, have these statistics meant in terms of the economic and political clout of minorities, especially Hispanics, in the United States? As we will see, these trends have had and will continue to have a dramatic effect upon Hispanic access to higher education.

Hispanic Poverty Index

In spite of the phenomenal growth of the Hispanic population, Hispanics continue to garner little economic and political power within society. As a whole, the Hispanic community continues to endure disgraceful levels of poverty, illiteracy, and a drop-out rate that leads the nation. According to a survey conducted in 1988, the poverty index of Hispanic families in 1987 had not changed significantly since the bottom of the last economic recession. In 1987, 25.8 percent of the Hispanic population were shown to be living at or below the poverty level, a rate which was 2 1/2 times as high as for non-Hispanic families (Current Population Reports, 1988).

How has the economic chasm between rich and poor affected Hispanics during this same time period? Despite a remarkable ten year surge in population among Hispanics and modest gains into middle class America by some members of various Hispanic groups, they lag well behind the rest of the nation's population (Barringer, 1991). Poverty is on the rise and continues to increase among Hispanic families. "In addition, more than half of all Hispanic households—53 percent—had incomes placing them among the bottom two-fifths of U.S. households in 1987" (Barancik, 1990, p. 10).

In a similar report entitled *Understanding Latino Poverty in the U.S.*, Monsivais and Bustillos (1990), state that the number of poor in the United states grew by 3.2 million persons between 1982 and 1987. Of that number, Latinos constitute 42 percent. By 1987, 5.5 million Latinos (27% of all Latinos in the nation) lived below the poverty level. The per capita income of all Latinos was only $7,000 as compared to $12,352 earned by whites. Hence, while there has been no appreciable change in the Hispanic family poverty rate, the poverty rate of non-Hispanic families dropped from 10.4 percent to 9.7 percent between 1985 and 1987

(Current Population Reports, 1988).

Children and families headed by a single Hispanic female have been especially hard hit by poverty. From 1979 to 1984, the percentage of Hispanic children living in poverty under the age of six rose an alarming 11.3 percent (from 29.2 percent in 1979 to 40. 5 percent in 1984). By 1984, the poverty level of Hispanic children was 84 percent above that among all U.S. children. By 1985, 2.6 million Hispanic children were living in poverty in the U.S. with two-thirds residing in three states: California, Texas, and New York (Cuellar, 1989).

Hispanic Drop-Outs

Data on the drop-out rate is equally grim. Bureau of Census data states that 51 percent of the total Hispanic population attended four or more years of high school in 1988 as compared to 78 percent of the non-Hispanic population, and 10 percent of the Hispanic population had four or more years of college as compared to 21 percent of the non-Hispanic population (Current Population Reports, 1988). According to Catlin (1986), the drop-out rate for Anglos between the ninth and 12th grade is estimated at about 25 percent, while for Blacks and Hispanics it is more than 43 percent.

A recent article in *Online* (1990) states that dropout rates in the U.S. have been declining over the past ten years. According to *Online*, dropout rates for blacks (with similar family backgrounds as whites whether living in central cities or suburbs) are now only slightly higher than for whites; however, dropout rates among Hispanics have not changed in fifteen years and remain high. *Online* goes on to state,

> The problem is so severe that in 1988, almost one-third of Hispanics between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four were neither enrolled in school nor were high school graduates. . . . Hispanics drop out earlier than either whites or blacks and are six times as likely to have no more than an elementary school education. (p. 1)

Hispanics in Higher Education

A report by the National Center for Educational Statistics' entitled the "Digest of Educational Statistics (1989) provides valuable data on the status of Hispanics in Higher Education. The following are highlights of data that provide insight to the numbers of Hispanics in higher education and within doctoral programs. When viewing these statistics one must keep in mind that they reflect data on the entire range of people who come under the rubric of Hispanic and that Mexican Americans make up only a portion of the data.

• Standards for admission and continued matriculation have tightened due (in part) to a severe statewide financial deficit that has lead to the elimination of classes, and imposed attendance ceilings for public and private institutions in California institutions of higher education. Beginning in the Fall of 1992, tuition will increase 40% in the California State University system. All this is occurs during a time of dwindling resources in the form of loans, grants and scholarships to poor and middle income students. Hence, poor and middle class students stand the most to lose. They are the ones who will suffer during fiscally conservative times. Chicanos from poor and middle class homes stand to lose the most in a state that can ill afford to train professionals that are further removed from the ethnic and linguistic diversity and reality of the state.

• Hispanic enrollment in institutions of higher education increased slightly between 1976 and 1986 from 3.5 percent to 4.9 percent of the total population. However, when one looks only at total enrollment in four-year institutions the figures are even less with Hispanics showing a growth rate over the same ten year period from 1.6 to 2.2 percent of the total population.

• In 1989, 34,319 doctoral degrees were conferred. Hispanics earned 2.7% of the doctorates conferred as compared to 86.2% by Whites

of the total population. Mexican Americans accounted for 0.7% or 240 of all doctorates conferred in all fields (Mangan, 1991).

• In Education, 6,265 doctorates were conferred in 1989. Of this number, Hispanics earned 3.1% and Mexican Americans earned 0.9% of the total number of doctorates conferred in 1989 (Mangan, 1991).

• In 1987, men represented 42 percent of the Hispanics earning doctorates in education while women represent 58 percent. Mexican Americans accounted for 1.1 percent of the total population of people (from all groups) that earned doctorates in education in 1986-87, a trend that has remained constant since 1980 (Digest of Educational Statistics, 1989).

• Recent data available in the Digest of Educational Statistics (1989) on faculty positions is for the Fall of 1985. In 1985, of 464,072 people with full-time faculty positions in institutions of higher education, only 7,704 were Hispanic. These figures indicate that Hispanics represent only 1.6 percent of faculty within all academic ranks.

• Hispanics account for only 1.1 percent of full-time faculty at the rank of Professor while white non-Hispanics account for 92 percent of faculty at the top rank. At the Assistant professor rank, Hispanic faculty account for 1.7 percent of the full-time faculty while non-Hispanics account for 87.5 percent.

• Hispanic males account for 69.5 percent of all Hispanics in full-time faculty positions while Hispanic females make up 30.4 percent. Hispanic males account for .9 percent of the faculty at the rank of professor and Hispanic females account for only .19 percent.

A 1982 survey conducted by Payan, Peterson and Castille (1984) addresses the issue of Mexican American access to college and shows that while the Mexican American enrollment in higher education in the five southwestern states nearly doubled in the early 1970s, "their numbers, as a percentage of the total enrollment, increased by only 1 percent-from 10 to 11 percent between 1972 and 1982" (p. 17). These figures are reflective of fundamental changes in the perception of many Americans and the manner in which they fund higher education. Payan, et al. (1984) state that the nation witnessed unprecedented civil rights advancements of the 1960s and a concurrent focus in the 1970s upon issues of equity coupled with wide ranging funding of a host of social welfare and education programs directed in large part to the economically disadvantaged.

The 1980s saw a dramatic shift in public attitude to a "mood of fiscal conservatism . . . that led to reduced funding for education at all levels . . . a new concern for "quality . . . in the academe" (Payan, et al., 1984, p. 1) in the 1980s. The effects of these changes upon minorities and those living at or below the poverty level is predictable. Is it any wonder that the disparity at all levels of higher education is as great as it is today? Is it any wonder that one of three Asians and one in five white full time students enrolled in four year institutions graduate in four years while only one of seven Blacks, 1 of 10 Hispanics and 1 in 12 American-Indians graduated in four years (Applegate and Henniger, 1989).

This data is shameful and clearly illustrates the chasm that is growing between those who live in poverty, of which Hispanics and other minorities constitute disproportionate numbers, and those in the middle and upper classes. Because the problems are complex, solutions need to reflect economic, political, linguistic, and educational changes in policy.

Hispanic Solutions

The following are offered as suggestions to meet some of the complex problems addressed thus far:

1. Hispanic faculty must play a critical role in the overall process. At the individual level we are often called upon to act as both conscience and catalyst of the academic community. Beginning at the awareness level we must ensure that students are aware of the existence and needs of the minority and Hispanic community. Curriculum classes at undergraduate and graduate levels need to provide information in such a way that it encourages students to seek out connections between content and the minority community. Harkening back to the work of John Dewey, students need to view education and curriculum as "a process of social activity" [where the school is] intimately related to the society it serves" (Ornstein & Levine, 1989, p. 138) rather than as content or subject matter to be mastered, a program of planned activities, or a set of intended learning outcomes (Schubert, 1986).

Unfortunately, many non-minority students are unaware or simply choose to ignore the fact that American society is comprised of a diversity of students. Although their course work may examine the demographics of American society, non-minority students often hold on to an unrealistic yet persistent view that all children are the same, have the same needs, come from the same homes, and fit neatly into an all-inclusive middle or upper middle income Anglo American model. Indeed, it is little wonder that students in many teacher training institutions are ill equipped to deal with student socioeconomic, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. It is little wonder that Hispanics are often ignored at all levels of the educational spectrum.

Another problem facing Hispanics entering the alien environment of the University is culture shock. According to Fiske:

> For many students the most serious problems are not those they confront getting into college, but those they face once they get there. The problems range from the anxiety of breaking close family ties to the loneliness and tensions inherent in finding their way in institutions built around an alien culture. (1988, p. 29)

As a graduate student at the University of Washington in the mid 1970s, I was acutely aware of the effects of culture shock upon my grades, morale, and attitude. There were a number of important support systems in place at that university that made the differences between failure and success. One factor that made a great deal of difference was a contact person within the University of Washington staff who acted as an ombudsman for new Chicano students such as myself. This person (who happened to be Chicano) corresponded with me prior to my arrival at the University and assisted with information on housing, providing a wealth of information about the community and the local Chicano collegiate support group.

One image I vividly recall was our arrival in Seattle in the dead of night and in a driving rain. After a brief phone call, Juan Juarez met my family with a key to an apartment, an abrazo, and reassuring words. In the weeks that followed, he played an invaluable role assisting and welcoming other new families to the university community. Through Juan, we were introduced to a small but tightly knit Chicano community that befriended us. This community of friends and fellow graduate students became a surrogate family and support group while we were away from home. In times of stress or crisis, they were always ready to lend support. Drawing strength from the group, we reciprocated by helping others and bringing new families into the fold.

One final support system that made a difference were counselors at the university trained to work with the special problems faced by minority students. The university had professionals on staff who acted as an invaluable support system for students facing academic burnout, high levels of stress, and culture shock. This was an important component of the university community and should be a

basic component of any university. Magner (1989) states that all students have problems when attending graduate school; however,

> unlike their white counterparts, they [minority students] say they often experience an intense sense of isolation as minority students in predominantly white institutions. Many feel they must prove they have a right to be in graduate school in a way that white graduate students don't. (p. A19)

Feelings such as this add to the pressure to survive and succeed felt by Hispanic students. Hence, the addition of counselors trained to understand and deal with minorities is critical.

2. At the programmatic level we need to set up career ladder training opportunities for preschool and elementary level paraprofessionals. Education has long served as one of the entry points to a profession for Hispanics. Hispanic females, many with young children of their own, enter the public schools as teacher aides and provide an invaluable service. Many are bilingual and have an intimate knowledge and commitment to their community. In addition to their required duties, many Hispanic teacher aides serve as translators, bilingual tutors, and informal home and school liaisons in schools with high minority student populations and limited minority faculty.

Hispanic university faculty can play a vital role in the grant writing process piloting programs that offer credentialing services and professional training to this population. In addition, efforts are needed to build in career ladder programs into the university curriculum that targets Hispanic paraprofessionals. One such example is the Multifunction Support Service Center. Classes targeting Hispanic preschool teachers, and paraprofessionals have been offered on campus at CSU Fresno as well as on many of the regional college campuses in the Central San Joaquin Valley.

3. At the institutional level we need to network more comprehensively across disciplines at the university and between the university and the community. Faculty from a variety of programs including education, counseling, social work, modern languages, Chicano and Latino studies, and anthropology, to name a few, need to work more closely in the development of interdisciplinary coursework that draws upon the knowledge base and expertise of professionals from a variety of fields. Hispanic faculty can take the lead in offering upper division and graduate courses where the emphasis is upon an examination of critical issues and across discipline team teaching.

Hispanic faculties also need to network with various social service agencies within the community that serve Hispanic needs such as the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA), Chicano Latino American Students in Education (CLASE), Mathematics Engineering and Science Association (MESA), Health Careers Opportunities Program (HCOP), and the Association for Mexican American Educators (AMAE) to name just a few.

4. At the community level we need to work actively with our public schools setting up effective parent/teacher programs. One program piloted in the Fresno Unified School District combines the efforts of university and public school faculty. Entitled "Poder de los Padres," this program was based at Rowell Elementary School, an inner city school with a large Mexican American population.

In its initial phase at Rowell Elementary School, "Poder de los Padres" involved intensive interactive sessions with parents and teachers over a six week period. Elementary teachers, university faculty, and parents met in small informal groups to explore topics such as discipline and classroom management, developing positive parenting skills, and effective tutoring strategies. In addition, child care was provided for younger children, sessions were bilingual, and parents had the opportunity to observe, discuss,

and analyze teachers and professors engaged in model lessons. Hence, parents were encouraged to be active partners in the education process. Woven into the overall program are culturally appropriate events such as the presentations of local talent by community "ballet folklorico" dance groups, local teatro groups, and bilingual skits and simulation activities by school faculty to engage the parents in discussion.

5. At the societal level Hispanic faculty need to keep the agenda for economic and political progress and educational access at the forefront of the American conscience. This entails involvement at all levels of the political hierarchy, including active participation in university Chicano and Hispanic faculty associations, block support where political candidates are held accountable to the needs of the Hispanic community and the identification of candidates that are willing to work toward positive solutions. We also need to look among our ranks and identify Hispanic leaders who can become viable candidates for political and educational leadership positions. In addition, Hispanic faculty need to be in constant communication with, and seek accountability for affirmative action issues whether it's at the local school board level, or the national political level. Again, networking with important community based Hispanic groups such as MAPA, LULAC, and the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce is one way of carrying out this work.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we need to bring about societal change by pressing for greater financial support for Chicanos and other minorities seeking advanced degrees in higher education. The pressures faced by financial insecurity can be devastating to minority students. The issue is especially acute for Chicano doctoral students who must often test the uncharted waters of graduate school with growing families. They must cope with the loss of a full time job over an extended period of time.

Exacerbating the situation is the length of time required to earn an advanced degree such as the doctorate. The average length of time spent working on a doctorate in education is among the longest in the professional community. Data indicates that for Hispanic's, a mean of 10.9 years elapses between the culmination of the B.A. and completion of the Ph.D. For African Americans, the figures are even greater at 14.9 years. Furthermore, the mean length of time spent by Hispanics working on doctorates is 7.4 years (O'Brian, 1990). These are long years of financial purgatory for Hispanic students during some of the most important earning years of their life. All too often, these represent years of lost earnings that all to often are never made up.

These are financially lean, fiscally conservative years that have played havoc upon minorities in general and Chicanos in particular. Programs such as the Title VII Bilingual Education doctoral degree grants of the 1970s and early 80s played a monumental role in the education of a generation of Chicano and other minority students like myself who are now working in universities and school systems throughout the country. It is imperative that moneys be appropriated to support students over the long run of graduate school for without requisite financial assistance the number of Hispanics in higher education will continue to diminish as the overall population swells. Without an adequate representation of Chicano's in higher education who serve as role models, mentors, policy makers, grant writers, administrators and faculty, opportunities for success in higher education will be severely limited.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the status of Hispanic representation in education. It encompassed concepts from previous decades such as equity and excellence and newer buzzwords in education such as empowerment. As Hispanic faculty, we need to become catalysts of change in order to increase the numbers of Hispanic and other minorities that enter into the funnel of

higher education. We can assist in a process that involves; 1) modification of the curriculum to be more inclusive and sensitive to Hispanics in America; 2) the establishment of career ladder opportunities at the most basic levels of education; 3) increased levels of intra and interdisciplinary networking as well as the enhancement of networking between the university and the community; 4) the establishment of quality parent and teacher programs such as "Poder de los Padres;" 5) increased political action by Hispanic educators from the grass roots to the national political levels; 6) the recognition of the value of language and culture and the recognition of the value and power of bilingual education and the role that it can play in decreasing our shamefully high drop out levels; 7) bridging the gap of alienation with our schools and institutions through mentoring; and 8), the provision of funds and the establishment of programs that identify minority students at the elementary and high school levels bringing them to university campuses in order to see that a university can be a part of their dream. As Chicano faculty, we can widen the funnel of opportunity and empower others so that together we can close the gap that has grown between under and working class Hispanics and the middle and upper class whites in America. Together, we can avert the chasm of inequity and failure.

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Notes:

[1] Labels connote a variety of meanings and interpretations which are reflective of sociopolitical , economic and linguistic interpretations. This author will use the term "Chicano" to refer to those who trace their heritage to Mexican-American or Mexican ancestry. The moreinclusive term, "Hispanic" refers to those whose heritage may be

Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American.

[2] Includes faculty members with the title of professor, associate professor, assistant professor, adjunct professor, or interim professor (or the equivalent). Excluded are graduate students with titles such as graduate or teaching fellows who assist senior faculty.

[3] Data includes private and public two-year and four-year institutions of higher education.

Bookmarks

Marisol Baca

Today I see my life
falling like the pages of
a book

Chapter after chapter,
page after page

Ending each word
brings a new taste
to life full of
bittersweet
memories
fading as the book
gets old;

But no one knows how I feel
-and-
like a book
I shouldn't look
too far into the future

or I shall
lose my
place.

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Policy Issues that Close Access to Higher Education: Toward the Empowerment Of Latino/Chicano Youth

Alberto M. Ochoa
Ruben W. Espinosa
Jesus Nieto

Over 144 years since the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848, the review of the education of Latinos/Chicanos is characterized by two restricting problems—access to both schools and colleges and inequality. These decoupling conditions exist because racism, discrimination, and hate violence are behaviors that directly impact Latino/Chicano communities in their pursuit of equality and equal participation in a democratic society.

Furthermore, the available research on educational organization seems to document that our public schools are stratified institutions. Some students are provided with "high status" knowledge that yields social and economic control. Others are relegated to a second class citizenship, both within our K-12 public school system and in the larger society (Oakes, 1985; Kitchen, 1990).

Presently, our public schools continue to treat our Latino/Chicano students as second class citizens and fail to nurture their educational development. Since 1977, the California legislature has enacted two major educational reforms: AB65 (1977) and SB813 (1983). In addition to mandating certain school finance restructuring for programs to meet the needs of educationally and economically disadvantaged students, AB 65 provided for K-12 school improvement through elementary and high school proficiency standards for graduation. SB 813 established financial rewards for high-performing schools, focusing almost exclusively on high schools and having little impact on schools whose achievement averages were below the state averages. Yet in spite of these two educational reforms and federal efforts the academic achievement of Latino/Chicano students, as well as ethnically diverse and low-income learners continues to be dismal.

Maintaining a free and open democracy demands that we actively pursue equity and excellence for Latino/Chicano Youth—two values that require resources, high standards, public policy commitment, and community activism.

This article synthesizes an analysis of the educational conditions impacting access and equity for Latino/Chicano students and school communities. Specifically, the article provides a description of the problem, describes policy solutions and alternatives, and concludes with the need for collective action in empowering the future of our youth. This article was developed from the collective thinking of a number of educators who participated in the Latino 2000 Summit Conference held at San Diego State University in Spring 1990 and sponsored by the San Diego Chicano Federation.

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Problem

Schools have a dismal track record in providing Latino/Chicano and low income youth with the necessary skills to have access to the world of work. Over 40% of our Latino/Chicano youth drop out of school, while another 30% receive a high school diploma with academic deficiencies that make them underskilled and underemployed. Of the remaining 30%, only 15% enter college, and about 5% eventually receive a B.A. Degree (Haycock & Navarro, 1988).

Underskilled youth become dependent on social and economic assistance, and this disempowers them to become contributors of our society. Disempowerment is a condition that is visible as early as the third grade for our Latino/Chicano students. [Empowerment refers to the development of youth who will have the necessary academic and social skills to be productive members in our democratic society—socially, economically, and politically. Disempowerment is the absence of this condition.] In responding to this disempowering condition, schools tend to begin to implement promising practices to arrest the underachievement of Latino/Chicano students at the junior and high school level. Unfortunately it is six to eight years too late—after the problem of underachievement was created (NCSEH, 1984). The "empowerment" of youth is not a process that begins at the junior or high school level, but one that must must begin before the kindergarten level with school and community interventions and public commitment.

Compounding the problem is the fact that the largest percentage of students who leave before graduation are Hispanics and Blacks. Research studies find that underachievement in the areas of reading and math for 80% of our students is detected as early as the third grade (Espinosa & Ochoa, 1984 and 1992; Haycock & Navarro, 1988).

In addition, the absence of a systematic school accountability process to determine instructional and school program effectiveness allows schools to perpetuate educational expectancy bands that justify low achievement and student disempowerment. Schools are expected to perform to the socioeconomic background of their students. School success is based on schools performing to their level of expectation (Arias, 1984; Zachman 1987; Espinosa & Ochoa, 1992).

The costs of leaving school are obviously high for the underachiever and also high for community and society, which must bear the financial brunt of the underskilled youth's inability to hold a job. Considering the tragic circumstances of dropping out, preventive action within the schools is not only desirable, but essential (LAUSD, 1985; Catterall & Cota-Robles, 1988).

Lastly, with respect to school structural conditions, Latino/Chicano and low income schools are disempowered by their lack of adequate funding, unpredictable year by year budgetary allocations and inadequate school facilities. This situation creates conditions of: (1) overcrowding, (2) absence of capital improvement, (3) diminishing educational and recreational space, (4) delimiting classroom and support service space, (5) harmful school safety, (6) high number of inexperience and/or unproductive staff to address the needs of students, (7) overloaded administrative responsibilities in managing the school site, and (8) zoning conditions that allows for overcrowded schools (Espinosa & Ochoa, 1984, 1992).

Roots of the Problem

In predicting Latino/Chicano student academic success or failure, one needs to examine the school's views of the student's background, the sociocultural characteristics of the school community, and the school's attention to parental community input and involvement. Student achievement is strongly influenced by the extent to which governments (federal, state, county, city) business and labor, media, school boards, teachers, administrators, and commun-

ity persons advocate for the promotion of student talents. In addition, one needs to acknowledge how public and educational policy can positiveiy or negatively drive pedagogical approaches designed to develop student mastery of skills.

Without a doubt, the most prevailing issue facing the Latino/Chicano community is the need for the development of a new attitude on the part of city, county and state government which will not only accept, but promote the development of its youth. Yet, laws alone will not change behavior unless the majority of the population accepts that it is to their best interest to work for the empowerment of Latino/Chicano youth. Equal opportunity can be legislated, but the commitment to actualize such policies cannot be mandated. This potential resides in the heart and minds of teachers, administrators and politicians. Thus, public policy hinders or promotes the necessary conditions to nurture our youth.

An example of public policy working against the interest of a community is visible at the local level in the establishment of zoning ordinances within a community. Zoning is intended to manage the amount and kind of growth of a community and to establish quality standards. In general, our low income communities have the least restrictive zoning that enable other communities to improve on their quality of environment. When a junk yard or industrial plant is located in such a neighborhood, its residents suffer from health risks, noise and pollution. When a highway is constructed through the community, displacement and division occurs (UC-SCR 43 Task Force, 1989). The greatest harm is the self-fulfilling prophecy of government and schools towards the Latino/Chicano community. its children are expected to underachieve and be underskilled because of their low income status. At the same time, we most acknowledge and recognize that we are part of the problem when we fail to exert our power of broad based community participation that is guided towards bridging the home and school in the support of student achievement and holding local and county government accountable.

Thus, public policy concern with human capital/resources can empower or disempower student school success. For example, school achievement expectancies channel students into four respective curricular tracks-remedial, vocational, non-college bound and college bound. These tracks are designed to address the characteristics and perceived needs of children as per zoning and housing density patterns, low income status, language background of community, parental type of occupation, welfare incidence and transiency. All factors have a direct linkage with federal, state, local politics.

The problem of the underachieving Latino/Chicano student is highly complex and interrelated with City, County, and State government policy, the values of people in leadership positions, the home, student, the school, as well as organizational and structural factors which have a direct and indirect impact on the root causes of underachievement. Unfortunately, the focus of school policy towards Latino/Chicano students, the orientation of major research studies, programs, and practices that seek to address the underachiever are narrow and based on a deficit model. This model blames the student, the family and the sociocultural background of the student, ignoring public policy and organizational and structural school related variables and conditions (Benne, Bennis & Chinn, 1969; CSCHA, 1985; Espinosa & Ochoa, 1992).

Solution and Alternatives

The type of schooling that Latino/Chicano and low income students receive has powerful implications regarding the inception of their underachievement and the possible solutions. Present research has begun to examine policy issues and institutional and organizational conditions affecting disempowerment. For example, with respect to school size, research results suggest that

urban elementary schools that are over 650, tend to be ethnically impacted, have the minimum base funds, and have large categorical programs and funding that have a negative bearing on student learning and motivation (Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Espinosa & Ochoa, 1984, 1992; McDill, 1986; Denton, 1987). In general the findings of the available research suggest serious concerns about the direction being taken by local governments and educational institutions to develop effective programs for addressing the educational needs of Latino/Chicano and low income students (University of California, 1989; Kitchen, 1990).

To attain Latino/Chicano human capital via community-wide collaboration and educational practices that yield educational excellence, the following recommendations are suggested for action:

City and County Latino/Chicano Vision

Latino/Chicano and low income youth need to be given the highest priority by all policy makers in promoting and establishing policies that are fair, just and that empower youth to be productive members of our community.

- Local and county government must form a new coalition that is proactive in investing in human capital that enables Latino/Chicano youth to acquire motivation, knowledge, performance skills, community consciousness in actualizing their career choices.
- Employability dictates that our school, with the support of local and county government, prepare Latino/Chicano youth with the skills needed in an informational technology that requires high order skills.
- Empowerment of Latino/Chicano youth calls for the collaborative involvement of educators, civic leaders, city and county government, social agencies, labor and business all working together in the investment of youth.
- A city and county government report is issued annually to assess public commitment on the progress of preparing Latino/Chicano youth for the world of work and/or higher education.
- Establish a Roundtable involving higher education, city and county government and the K-12 educational leadership to jointly address and articulate policy and practices to empower Latino/Chicano and low income youth to have access to higher education and career choices in the informational world of work.

Political Representation

Community activism is imperative in the process of actualizing equity and excellence for our Latino/Chicano youth, as well as in developing, nurturing, and preparing leadership in attaining school board representation.

- Provide training to community persons leading to the identification of a cadre of individuals (across gender) to be involved in higher order leadership development.
- Identify and develop a cadre of Latino/Chicano community persons across California and the Southwest to receive training to become school board members.
- Establish grassroot political networks in specific communities for planning, implementing and evaluating Latino/Chicano board members campaigns.

Access to Higher Education

School districts must move from "a policy of equal access of resources to a policy of equal expectations and equal treatment that yields a Latino/Chicano labor force reflective of its community composition.

- School policy and personnel view the background experiences of the student not as deficits, but as experiences to be used to develop concepts, literacy skills and critical thinking.
- Use testing and diagnostic assessment approaches not as labeling tools, but as tools for identifying the cognitive and strengths needs of students—in order to enrich their cognitive skills and to develop their intellect.

- Recognize that students learn at different rates, through different approaches and learning styles.
- Provide additive bilingual instruction and different types of curriculum programs, while maintaining high standards, core curricula and expectations, to address the diverse academic and linguistic development of students.
- Educational curricula, school services, and staff must recognize and support cultural and linguistic uniqueness in the development of youth who are socially literate and responsible for the maintenance of democratic principles.

School Personnel Sensitivity and Competence

Teacher education institutions need to be accountable for training school personnel who hold high expectations for Latino/Chicano students and must hold their candidates accountable to demonstrate crosscultural competence to address the pluralism of our school systems.

- Training in teacher education must incorporate the nature of pluralism and the diversity of the Latino/Chicano community in the overall preparation of teacher candidates.
- Teachers, counselors, and administrators must demonstrate an understanding of the cultural, historical and educational significance of cultural and linguistic diversity.
- Teachers, counselors, and administrators must demonstrate knowledge of the application of sociocultural and linguistic diversity to cognition, learning and schooling.
- Teachers, counselors, and administrators must demonstrate concrete applications and strategies for ethnically diverse classroom.
- Teachers, counselors, and administrators must demonstrate sensitivity in working with ethnically diverse parents as equal partners in the education of youth.
- The organizational structure of schools and institutions of higher education must provide trained, competent and credentialed personnel that guide youth to achieve academically and to attain the necessary skills to enter careers and/or higher education.

Equitable Quality Resources

Latino/Chicano and low income school communities (must be provided with equitable fiscal, structural facilities, staff, and quality instructional programs that promote a pedagogically sound school climate.

- Match student attendance (ADA) to within district equitable funding, school facilities, and staff to deliver pedagogically sound educational services.
- Establish school utilization upper limits at the elementary level not to exceed 650 students, with specified classroom and building capacity conducive to learning, student safety, and school climate.
- Provide long-term fiscal support on a three year cycle for impacted low income school communities based on a funding formula and student growth pattern, to allow for planning and program implementation.
- Identify staff development resources to initiate a dropout prevention support team that can assist teachers, administrators, and counselors to develop effective intervention plans for underachieving Latino/Chicano students.

Empowerment of Youth at the Preschool to Eigth Grade

Latino/Chicano and low income school youth must be provided with school interventions that are preventive in nature, carefully planned, addressing the core curriculum educational needs of students and that prepares them for the world of work of the informational society.

- Provide for the early identification of academic needs as based on what students are expected to achieve at each grade level.
- Provide instructional approaches that address the linguistic and academic needs

of the student and create and ensure early school success at the preschool to third grade level.

- Provide for the "mentor" teacher to teach at the most critical years of the student—preschool to third grade.

System of School Accountability

Latino/Chicano and low income school communities must be provided with an accountability system that is designed to provide its youth with the core curriculum that prepares them for the informational economy of the world of work, while addressing the prevention of early underachievement.

- Mandate educational excellence at every school, through a curricula that is driven by State core curriculum standards.
- Eliminate status ranking expectancy bands and establish core curriculum expectations for all students.
- Establish early underachieving prevention programs that begin at the preschool level and provide for the identification of needs, instructional intervention, and ongoing evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention process.

Parent Empowerment

Provide training to Latino/Chicano parents on home-school collaboration that will enable parents to monitor the academic achievement of their children and collaborate with the school in their social and academic development. A model for consideration is the Parent Institute for Quality Education housed in San Diego County.

- Provide parent training in the most critical years of education pre-school to 6th. grade to address early parent intervention in the education of their son/daughter.
- Provide parents with skills to hold schools accountable for maintaining high academic expectations based on career choices for the 21st Century.
- Establish parent involvement programs that require parents to attend a minimum of one parent education class per quarter and one parent conference per semester.
- Provide training that will enable parents and the school to collaborate in order to yield high aspirations, positive self-esteem, self respect and productive Latino/Chicano youth who are proud of their language and culture and personal development.
- Provide training to Latino/Chicano parents designed to provide them with what they can do at home to assist, motivate, guide their children in their social and academic development.

Careers and Jobs

Provide career job orientation at the K-6 grade level to begin to prepare Latino/Chicano youth for the world of work.

- Early academic instruction needs to begin preparing Latino/Chicano youth with fundamental communication, computational, and problem solving skills that will be required by any employer.
- Promote multilingual competence for all youth in order to connect our communities with the rest of the world-through an English Plus policy and not English only.
- Match students needs with viable services and resources to enable the youth to be exposed to the core curriculum/ world of work/ career choices.
- Bring forward credentialed staff that are trained to meet the diverse academic and linguistic learning needs of students.

Conclusion

In the face of an egalitarian ideology, differentiated educational practices, economic and political inequality among different segments of society, suggest the need to reexamine social policy and educational practices impacting negatively on our Latino/Chicano youth. We face the commitment to reexamine the values of equity and excellence, and their implications to the social,

economical, political, and educational institutions of our community. This reexamination of values must encourage a renaissance of hope in our community and of pride in Latino/Chicano decisions as to what our destiny will be as we press forward to actualize equality, freedom, and democratic principles.

In education, we advocate sound and effective programs for all students. Our communities must insist on sound, effective, efficient and relevant pre-school to university teacher education programs. With the achievements of science and with the social commitment of educators, we must demand quality education, specifically at the pre-school to third grade level and up to the university level. Finally, it is imperative that we collectively intervene on behalf of our youth in order to transform their social, economic, and political opportunities and quality of life.

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Access or Deterrence? Student Financial Aid and Low-Income Chicanos/Latinos

Whitney Laughlin

Financial aid is a classic example of a government subsidy that carries with it a set of assumptions that are not necessarily valid for lower-income Chicanos/Latinos. Issues pertaining to language and culture pose sometimes insurmountable difficulties to these families when they are faced with a complex and unfamiliar financial aid system. The purpose of financial aid is to decrease the cost of college attendance for needy students and therefore increase accessibility to higher education. In the case of Chicanos/Latinos, there are also distinct factors on the side of the delivery system that cause financial aid to be less than efficient and therefore inhibit access.

The first section of this paper will describe the methods used to analyze the problem, and why those particular methods were chosen. It will also include a background summary of the interview informants. The second section presents a brief overview of trends in financial aid policy and research as they pertain to lower-income families. Current educational and financial issues of the Chicano/Latino population are described. Section three presents evidence for various language issues and cultural attitudes that pertain to Chicanos/Latinos that prevent them from being informed consumers, and how these issues and attitudes manifest in difficulties with the financial aid system, specifically in relation to overall knowledge (Information Inequities), forms (System Complexity"), aid awards and loans. Also included in this section are examples of factors inherent in the financial aid system itself that make it less than efficient for Chicano/Latino families. The conclusion offers a summary, as well as implications of the problem and some solutions or remedies.

Methods

In the process of researching financial aid policies and their effects on low-income families (Laughlin, 1990), I came across a number of references to issues that were particular to Chicanos/Latinos. Because the majority of the low-income students I have worked with (and will continue to work with in the future) are from this population, I wanted to investigate the topic in greater depth. Relying strictly on existent, largely quantitative research, however, presented limitations. Hispanic undergraduates comprise about 3.5% of U.S. full-time enrollments (Olivas, 1985). This small number "has posed acute problems for measuring the effects of financial assistance on this population" (Olivas,

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1985). In addition, statistics for "Hispanics" are rarely disaggregated and do not reflect the wide variations that exist under that umbrella term. Hispanic students may be Chicano or Mexican-American, Spanish by lineage (particularly in New Mexico and southern Colorado) Cuban from recent or pre-Mariel immigrations, and/or Puerto Rican, Central American or Latin American by birth or lineage. All of these groups carry with them particular issues of language, class, and educational background, and therefore any assertions one might make about one group would have little bearing on another. It became apparent, therefore, that in order to support and illustrate my initial hunches about the lower-income Chicano/Latino population, additional information was necessary, in the form of a more in-depth review of the literature and in the form of first-person qualitative analysis.

Because I was very interested in attitudes and how they affect behavior, I chose to conduct interviews with ten Chicanos/Latinos who were either seniors in high school or four-year college students. I also interviewed 15 professionals who, as counselors at the high school or college level, had extensive experience with financial aid advising and Chicano/Latino students and families. Four of these individuals were Chicano/Latino themselves. The interviews were an average length of 45 minutes and were conducted over a four-month period (January - April, 1991). Twenty-one of the 25 were transcribed.

Questions posed to students were about their family backgrounds and about their experiences with financial aid in general. The professionals were asked questions about their experiences with advising Chicano/Latino students in financial aid, and they were encouraged to focus on aspects that were particular to that population and were not true for other groups. Anecdotes illustrative of individual cases were also requested.

All but one of the students were from lower-class backgrounds. Half of the group's parents spoke no English, and with the exception of one student whose father was born in the United States, all had parents who were born either in Mexico or Central America. Three of the students were born outside the U.S. The parents' formal education levels varied from no years to an A.A. degree, with an overall mean of 6.4 years and a median of 5. The family sizes varied from 3 to 13, with a mean of 7.5 and a median of 7. Three of the families were headed by a female single parent. Only one of the students was the eldest of the siblings, with a mean and median rank among siblings of 4.5. Half of the students were the first in their families to attend a four-year institution. All but two of the group lived (or planned to live) at home. All of the students but one (who defined herself as middle-class) gave financial assistance to their families.

Analysis of the interview data was accomplished by qualitative induction, that is, concepts and hypotheses emerged from an examination of transcriptions, field notes, journal entries and memos. To initiate the analysis, the interviews were open-coded to elicit the greatest number and variation of possible themes. Decisions about the retention, merging, and discarding of codes were made, and a of total of 31 different codes was then reduced to 15 as the analysis became more conceptually oriented. At this point I conducted a review of the literature (some 35 articles). Further reduction of the interview data was then accomplished by combining categories that would most easily accommodate general themes presented in the literature.

As with any research done (both qualitative and quantitative) on a particular population, there is the danger that claims made for one group could just as easily be made for another.

In this study, for example, many of the themes presented could be said to pertain to low income students in general. I have therefore, in order to make my evidence most useful, tried in both my data collection and analysis to be sensitive to that issue and to focus on those themes that emerged as being particularly pertinent to Chicanos/Latinos.

Statement of the Problem

Trends in federal student financial aid can be characterized by two major themes: (1) less aid is available and (2) an increasing proportion of available aid is in the form of loans instead of grants (Hansen, 1987). At the same time, student financial aid programs in general have grown in size and complexity. Early studies exploring the influence of financial aid examine how aid offered or received affects postsecondary attendance and choice decisions. Most students begin making preliminary college attendance decisions prior to their senior year in high school, and certainly well before they are aware of exactly what kind of financial aid they will be offered (Urhan, 1988). In the case of low-income students, financial aid has an impact even on these early decisions through such factors as student and parent knowledge of financial aid programs, impressions of available aid, and willingness to borrow for higher education (Laughlin, 1990; Urhan, 1988).

Later research began to focus on differences beyond those between aided and non-aided students. New questions were developed such as: Does parent and student knowledge about financial aid make a difference? How do expectations about financial aid affect postsecondary attendance? Do different kinds of aid have different effects? Does the process itself inhibit rather than encourage access? Do students and their families behave in the rational ways the system presupposes? And most recently (and not incidental for purposes of this study), are there different answers to these questions for different income and ethnic/racial groups?

In this paper I will take up the issue of the assumption of the rational and informed consumer and how that pertains to the financial aid system and low-income Chicanos/Latinos. Models of how financial aid affects the educational attainment process assume that students and their families are making rational and informed choices — assessing the current labor market, weighing the short versus long term benefits of college attendance over other alternatives, and ultimately choosing which college to attend based on their academic and financial ability, their foregone earnings and other opportunity costs, and what benefits the college will yield (Urhan, 1988). Rarely considered are the extraneous factors to these models and how they break down according to income and ethnicity or race.

Are financial considerations themselves more important to some groups than to others? Would more Chicanos/Latinos, for example, attend college if they knew more about the benefits of higher education? "If students invariably were perfectly informed, rational economic actors, then they would always consider college an investment" (Post, 1990). The current "self-help" policy of financial aid certainly assumes this perspective. The pre-Reagan policy of accessibility,on the other hand, assumed that "disadvantaged social groups cannot afford to pay for college, pointing out that college expenses are too heavy a burden for them to bear" (So, 1984). The self-help perspective argues that going to college is a rational decision that families can and must make, ignoring the fact that extraneous factors can play a crucial role in the decision-making process. This perspective also

disregards the fact that low-income families have little or no disposable income to "help" with (So, 1984). The costs of attending many colleges exceed the annual wages of many Chicano/Latino families (Olivas, 1986a).

The overall financial and educational picture for Chicanos/Latinos in the United States is not one that elicits optimism. Figures presented in the 1980 High School and Beyond data set tell us that one-quarter of Hispanic parents earned an annual wage of $6,000 or less. The median family income of Hispanics was $15,000, compared with a median family income for Anglos of $27,000. In addition, Hispanic parents not only had fewer assets than Anglo parents ($800 versus $9000), but also had more dependents (3 versus 2.5) (So, 1984). Hispanics constituted 6.4% of the population, but only 3.0% of the enrollment in higher education. By comparison, Anglos represented 81.9% of the total population, but 87.8% of college enrollments (Griffith, 1986).

Mexican Americans in particular are overrepresented in poorer paying positions, such as service workers and laborers, and underrepresented in better-paying positions, including those of a technical, managerial, or administrative nature (Attinasi, 1989). In a California-based study conducted by Muñoz (1978), the typical Chicano student came from a family in which the educational level of either parent was six to nine years of formal education and the highest occupational level was generally that of an unskilled laborer.

Overall Hispanic students fail to complete high school at twice the rate of Anglos. The dropout rate for Chicanos is especially high: three times that of Anglo students. For Chicanos: of the 55% who eventually graduate from high school, 22% enter college, and 7% complete college (compared to figures of 85%, 38% and 23% for Anglos) (Payan, 1984). More than half of all Hispanic students in post-secondary institutions are enrolled in public community colleges (compared to 33% of Anglo students) (Griffith, 1986, p.12). In 1975, "at the height of federal involvement in higher education" (Jackson, 1990, p.525), 35.4% of Hispanic high school graduates aged 18-24 were enrolled in college. By 1980 Hispanic participation had fallen to 29.9%, "a most distressing trend and one that has continued" (Jackson, 1990, p.525). Also troubling is the fact that the decrease in participation was disproportionately reflected (i.e.double) for Hispanics of lower as opposed to middle socioeconomic backgrounds (Levin, 1989, p.49). Hispanic students continue to have the lowest college participation rates among all minority groups; between 1976 and 1988 the rate further decreased by 8.1%. (U.S. GAO, 1990, p.6).

In five Southwestern states where 75% of the United States Hispanic population resides (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas), the "Spanish Origin" population is younger than any ethnic category across the board (Payan, 1984). In the ten-year period from 1970-1980, the Mexican American proportion of the five-state undergraduate student population grew by only 1% — from 10 to 11% — although the total percent of Mexican Americans in the population grew from 17 to 20% (a figure made more significant by the fact that that population is much younger). Thus we can see that their underrepresentation increased during that time. In California alone the Hispanic population grew by 92% from 1970 - 1980, and now accounts for about slightly over one-fifth of the state's total population (Payan, 1984). Considering the considerable growth of the Hispanic population in many states, the not commensurate change in postsecondary enrollment is disturbing.

The low percentage of Hispanic (and particularly low-income Chicano/Latino)

students attending college is attributable, in part, to high attrition rates at the secondary level which, in effect, decrease the number of individuals eligible for college attendance. We can also look at the substantial number of these students who are high school graduates who then fail to enroll in college. For this population there are certainly too many factors important to postsecondary enrollment and success to attribute declines in (or simple lack of) enrollment and persistence solely to financial aid policies and practice. Yet, financial aid does influence those processes (Jackson, 1978), and how the system affects different subgroups potentially has substantial implications. From the High School & Beyond data set (as reported by So, 1984) we find that "one-half of the Hispanic parents whose children did not enter higher education indicated lack of money as a reason for not continuing education beyond high school" (p.157). The figure for low-income Hispanic parents—59%—is even higher. In choosing a college, 58% of Hispanic parents said that college costs are very important (76% for low-income). To help decrease costs, 82% chose public colleges over private. Perhaps not completely a function of cost considerations, 94% of Hispanic parents chose a college in their home state and 60% considered living at home while attending college very important. These figures suggest that with adequate financial resources (or at least access to resources), many more Hispanic parents might send their children on to college. It also suggests that those who do send their children on might have more options in terms of the type of college, its location, and their child's living arrangements while in school.

Evidence

Information Inequities. Inequities in access to financial aid information have a particularly negative affect on minority and bilingual communities which depend on "different and less formal information systems than do majority populations" (Olivas, 1986a, p.16). Hispanic students depend more than other students on "complex family and social networks" for information (Jackson, 1990, p.543). For example, all of the students I interviewed who were not first in their families to go to four-year institutions credited their older siblings as their primary source of financial aid information. Typically these students attend high schools where going on to college is not the norm. Their parents have not attended college themselves (the majority have not even graduated from high school), and are not a part of social networks where more affluent parents have access to financial aid information. As Olivas (1986a, p.16) points out, "In many cases, the costs of college loom so large as to establish a folklore that college is completely impossible for their children."

In a survey conducted in southern California (Post, 1990), findings revealed that for children of Spanish speakers, costs largely determined college plans, and that this group also had the highest and most unrealistic estimates of college tuition. (Neither of these facts were equally true for children of English speakers). A further possible interpretation of Post's data is that immigrant families (who constituted about half of the Chicano sample) "do not differentiate between expensive elite universities and inexpensive community colleges" (p.178). Several of the students I interviewed had initially been interested in nearby private institutions, but were dissuaded from even applying because of perceived cost limitations: "I thought about Mills, but that was too expensive anyway."

Hispanic students are least informed of all groups about the types of aid available. According to a

Chicago study done by Orfield (1984), 96% of black seniors who applied to postsecondary school were aware of Pell Grants, and 76% knew of Stafford Loans; for Hispanics, the comparable figures were lower, 74% and 66% respectively. High School & Beyond data for Hispanic parents nationwide, as reported by So (1984, p.155), gives less encouraging figures: 54% do not know about basic education opportunity grants (BEOG); 69% are unaware of supplement education opportunity grants (SEOG); 63% do not know about guaranteed student loans (GSL now Stafford); and the same 63% do not know about college work study programs. This high percentage of Hispanic parents who lack knowledge is consistent across all income levels (So, 1984, p.155). One of the students I interviewed (the only one who described herself as middle-class) initially did not apply for aid because she felt she would not qualify, "I thought my dad made too much money." After being encouraged by a teacher in her high school, she went ahead and filled out the forms and now receives a financial aid package that consists of both grants and loans.

As So points out, Anglo parents are also not all that knowledgeable about financial aid programs. Where they differ, however, is in how they made up for this lack of knowledge. Hispanic parents sought information about sources of aid less frequently than Anglo parents (28% versus 45%), and only 19% of Hispanic parents approached formal channels, such as high school counselors, college admission or financial aid officers, or bank personnel (the comparable figure was about double for Anglo parents).

System Complexity. The financial aid "system" is actually a complex matrix of programs and options that reflect a combination of state, federal, and campus-based financial aid. Before they can receive aid, students and their parents are confronted with multiple and complex application forms. In addition, these forms require detailed information that low-income Chicano/Latino families in particular may be unwilling or unable to provide.

For Chicano/Latino parents, many of whom speak solely Spanish (or at best are weak in English) and also have the equivalent of a grammar school education, financial aid forms can be frustratingly difficult. The degree of reading and arithmetic skills are even higher than those required for an income tax return (which many low income parents are not required to file) (Olivas, 1986a). A study done by the Educational Testing Service found the average level of comprehension necessary to complete the Financial Aid Form (FAF) was ninth to tenth grade. Instructions (which are available also in Spanish) were written at the seventh to eighth grade level, but the application itself was written at the ninth to tenth grade level (College Board, 1981). As one student I interviewed explained, "I never saw the form in Spanish. I mean, even if it was in Spanish, my dad has a second grade education and my mom, sixth. She would have been the one to fill it out, but with eight kids and a full-time job, she was always occupied with something."

What can often occur, then, is that students end up filling out the form themselves, with little or no assistance from their parents. Of the ten students I interviewed, only one had any substantive parental assistance; the rest filled it out themselves with help, in the minority of cases, from siblings or from Talent Search or Upward Bound counselors. The implications of this common practice are disturbing. First, Hispanic students have a poor sense of their parents' earnings, and the poorer the family the more they tend to over-estimate (Olivas, 1986b). Second, inaccurate, incomplete or late information due to lack of knowledgeable

assistance can not only delay financial aid decisions, but more seriously it can cause students to not be granted sufficient aid to meet college costs. One student, whose parental contribution was ultimately calculated at zero, reported, "I didn't know anything about financial aid and I totally screwed up the form. You know how complicated the first one you do is. I didn't get any financial aid my freshman year because I put in the wrong income. I put in too much."

Along with problems of language, the concepts presented in financial aid forms are often alien and complex to Chicano/Latino students and their parents. As one counselor explained, "They lack a basic understanding of the process. Where does the money come from? Grants? Free money? And the students need to understand that the money is for *their* education, not to help out their families." Another counselor, in discussing the confusion a Chicano parent had experienced over her income even after her daughter translated the questions (she was an AFDC recipient), explained, "It's a question of a lack of knowledge, I mean in the sense that the mother just doesn't know the things that most people know." One student told of her experience, "I had to go through and try to learn the terms and it was really hard because I didn't know what it meant when it asked things like 'Are you an alien?' I mean, I thought aliens were from outer space. I didn't get it. Things that would probably seem so obvious to your average person really puzzled me."

One theme that was not present in any of the literature I reviewed, but was consistent in the interviews I conducted, was that of the tendency of the parents (particularly fathers) to use the financial aid process as one of control over their college-bound children (usually daughters), sometimes to the extent of refusing to sign the forms. Several of my informants admitted to having forged their parents' signatures. One counselor, a Chicano, explained, "I had a student today whose parents didn't want him to go away. I guess it's cultural, like with many Mexican families; Latino families are tight-knit, so they don't want their kids to go away. Some people would even not complete the form to not let them go."

A financial aid advisor said that many parents would only give support for colleges nearby. Sometimes she would make a professional judgement and make the student (usually female) independent. This solution was far from satisfactory, however, because" the student would have several jobs to make up the difference." One student was going to apply to Stanford until her father found out that she would have to live on campus the first year. She explained, "I don't think he wanted me to fail and not go on to college, but he was being protective of me." Another reason sometimes offered for not wanting their children to leave home is the expectation of helping with family expenses. As one counselor related, "By her moving, that eliminated help for the family. Now she has her own apartment and she doesn't give them financial support of any kind because her father has disowned her. I mean, she offered to send money, but I think it's more than money. It's more a question of control."

Another theme that emerged in the interviews, but was only briefly mentioned in one study (Muñoz, 1978), was that Chicano parents were far more unwilling than Anglo parents to provide personal income information for financial aid applications. One advisor, a Chicana, conjectured that it stemmed from a fear and suspicion of anything having to do with the federal government, "You know, IRS = INS." As one student opined, "Well, my father was undocumented for a long time, so there is a distrust of sending

anything away to the 'Feds.' The federal government is almost tantamount to the INS. That might generate the distrust even for those students who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents. It's sort of a cultural thing, just of mistrust in general." Another student explained, "Financial aid was the worst nightmare because my dad, I mean, I don't know if it's a cultural thing or just people from rural areas do not disclose information, but it was like pulling teeth trying to get him to tell me how much the house was worth. And then I asked if I could have a photocopy of his paycheck, and after weeks of trying he'd say, 'Why don't they believe me?' 'Well your word isn't golden in this country.' Yeh, my dad doesn't trust the government in general."

Documentation of income is a difficult task even for those who are willing to provide the necessary information. People not regularly employed, or those who get paid in cash, or those whose employers do not keep regular or timely records (as is the case with many low-income Chicano/Latinos), will literally be unable to document income or assets (Olivas, 1986a). In addition, the whole concept of additional verification for these families carries with it a disproportionate effect; the lowest income families are not even required to file 1040 forms, and so would be completing one only in order to verify aid eligibility (Olivas, 1986b). The purpose of verification is to ferret out those who supply false information in order to get more aid. In the case of this population, which tends to overestimate rather than underestimate its income, the policy of income verification seems not only impractical and inefficient, but could also be viewed as a real impediment for a population for whom the goal should be access, not deterrence.

Olivas comments (1986b, p.251), "Students most in need of financial aid are those least likely to have the expertise required to execute the forms." One student summarized her experience with the process: "I remember being so frustrated by the form that even though my [college] application was done I wanted to give up right there. I just wanted to stop. I was literally in tears, I remember, because there was nobody to help me. It was almost like a test, and it almost discouraged me from going."

Aid Awards. Latinos are nearly twice as likely to live in a traditional nuclear family as either poor blacks or Anglos. They also have the highest rate of working males of all three groups (Winkler, 1990). According to a financial aid advisor whom I interviewed (herself a Chicana), "Most low-income Chicano/Latino families I deal with have both parents working at low-paying jobs; often they work overtime or at two jobs. The lower the family income, the more likely the student will have a job to help support the family. They are still poor, they don't own their homes, but they are out of range for a grant. It's like they are being punished for their work ethic." This theme was strongly corroborated by the students with whom I spoke: "My dad worked from six in the morning until ten at night. He worked in the walnut fields and then he would do extra jobs like working on tractors. Then when we moved to the city he also had two jobs; he was a chef at an Italian restaurant and a garbage collector." "I worked all my years in high school 25 hours a week to make sure the rent gets paid." "I have two jobs right now, but I have worked since my freshman year mainly to help support my family." "When my father got sick I was the only one with money in the bank. So, family is family, and I told him to go ahead, you know, 'Here's the money for the surgery'. My first semester I gave my parents money. Most of my friends do that who are Latinas, you know, because, I don't know, we just do."

Unfortunately, financial aid policy does not consider the difficulty by which the family gained its income, it only considers the total income. Nor does it address the losses incurred when a child is expected to shift income previously used to support the family to his or her own personal direct and indirect attendance costs. Student aid does not effectively address opportunity costs of college attendance, and the loss of contribution from the family member who goes off to college may jeopardize the economic welfare of the family (Mortenson, 1989). In a survey (Payan, 1984) of financial aid directors at colleges and universities in the Southwest, 65% indicated that many Chicano/Latino students go to work instead of college because of family financial needs. In a culture where the family comes first, these students are often faced with the extremely stressful and difficult choice of abandoning their families to pursue higher education, or forgoing the opportunity of college.

The way many Chicano/Latino students deal with the financial and emotional stress of going away to college is to live at home. This solution is far from ideal, as one counselor pointed out: "The problem with living at home is that there are all these distractions and responsibilities. You're tired from work and school and the commute, and nobody there understands how hard school really is. Students who live on campus get support from other students. I tell them, 'If you live on campus you're more likely to get better grades and to graduate.'" A student explained, "It's really tough. I try to help out at home but college costs so much and takes up so much time. Sometimes I think about moving out, but I can't, you know. I guess it's just the culture."

When these students do drop out the problem is usually financial. Findings would indicate that "Hispanic college students are not leaving higher education because of their academic performance but largely because of financial reasons" (Nora, 1990, p. 326). However, as one financial aid advisor explained, "The problem is money, but not their own; it's their family's financial troubles. They may have enough to support themselves, but they have to leave to go home and work. Or their parents often won't or can't contribute, and they have to work extra jobs to make up the difference. Either way, it's a real hardship."

Patterns of financing college are different for Hispanics than they are for Anglos or blacks. Chicano/Latino students are least likely to receive parental support for college costs and are also very reluctant to take money from their parents if it is offered (Muñoz, 1978). Sixty-four percent of whites relied on parental aid as opposed to 47% for blacks and 27% for Hispanics (Nora & Horvath, 1989). As one student expressed, "Things were really rough so my parents were trying to give me money, you know what little . . . and I wasn't going to take their money. It's not like we have so much, you know."

Patterns of packaging student aid are also different for Chicano/Latino students. On face value, grants are a highly desirable form of assistance. The problem arises when 60% of Hispanic freshmen received *only* Pell Grants, and these grants cover only half the cost of attendance. Little additional institutional aid in the form of grants or scholarships is being awarded to Hispanics (Olivas, 1986a). One troubling ramification of this practice is that "the extraordinary reliance on federal funds may also mean that federal cutbacks in financial aid programs have disproportionately affected . Hispanic students" (Olivas, 1985, p.467). Another consideration is that student financial aid is positively related to student persistence. Students on College Work Study, for example,

have lower attrition figures than other financial aid recipients because they are "more integrated with the institution's social and academic structures" (Nora, 1990, p.315).

Loans (non-direct aid) also present particular problems for Chicano/Latino students. Hispanic students' packages have a 10% higher proportion of loans—the only portion of packages that has to be repaid—than those of other students (Olivas, 1978). One possible reason for this phenomenon is that loans are the one form of aid that can be secured late in the admissions process. As previously discussed, low-income Chicanos/Latinos have particular difficulties with forms, and may miss deadlines for other non-reimbursable aid. Also, if only half of their costs are being covered by grants, and these parents are least likely to make up the difference, the rest of the money has to come from somewhere, and that somewhere is usually in the form of off-campus employment and loans.

The heavy dependence on loans has serious implications for Chicano/Latino students. Loans have a positive effect on enrollment decisions for Anglos and blacks, but not on Hispanics (St. John & Noell, 1989). One advisor offered, "We have no tradition of debt . Most of these people come from a rural, pay-as-you-go tradition." Fear or mistrust of loans may also stem from a concern that they may not be able to be paid back. This concern is unfounded, however, when one considers that Chicano males have higher returns on college investment than Anglo males (Olivas, 1978). For Hispanics, the unemployment rate after four years of college (2.3%) was even lower than that of blacks (3.6%) or Anglos (4.0%) (Griffith, 1986). Loans (as opposed to other forms of aid) also may increase the likelihood of a student's dropping out (Muñoz, 1978), and can also affect plans for after college: "I really want to go to law school, but I already am in so much debt with my loans and all that I may have to take time off to work." "I really want to join the Peace Corps, maybe in Latin America. Since I know Spanish and everything it would be a great help over there. So I told my mom and dad about it, but I sort of have this guilt trip because once I graduate I should start making money to pay back all my loans."

Conclusion

Summary and Implications. Chicanos/Latinos are typically neither rational nor informed consumers of financial aid. The contradiction of those two basic assumptions, coupled with inequities within the delivery system itself, makes the application of the concept of financial aid as effective for that population difficult. College-going and persistence rates for Chicanos/Latinos are disturbingly low, especially considering their high rate of return for a college degree. Lack of knowledge of the system and of available aid, and problems applying for aid due to form complexity, unfamiliar concepts, and cultural traditions, have a disproportionate effect on that population. The current self-help policy, coupled with the Congressional Methodology of needs analysis, is also a deterrence.

The financial aid system that is now in place plays an important role in discouraging postsecondary access for the Chicano/Latino population. The rate of increase for this population is cause for concern when one considers that the rate of college enrollment is not commensurate. The problem, however, is not confined to this group but affects society at large. Levin (1989) points out that the potential consequences of inaction will accrue to society at large and includes the emergence of a dual society with a large and poorly educated underclass.

Remedies. Many factors prevent Chicano/Latino students from enrolling in college, let alone from completing high school. Only

a small portion of those who are eligible for college, however, actually attend and financial aid plays a significant role. If we can increase the likelihood of college participation by those students who *are* eligible, by better dissemination of information and by a more equitable aid system, then we will have at least helped to reverse the downward trend in college-going rates for Chicanos/Latinos.

To deal better with the financial aid hurdles that they face, Chicanos/Latinos need a stronger link with formal channels of information (e.g., high school counselors and college representatives). Schools and colleges need to have at least one counselor who is fluent in Spanish and is familiar with Hispanic culture (especially norms and values). Financial aid evenings hosted by the school where not only the school counselor is present, but also a college financial aid officer and Chicano/Latino parents and students experienced with the financial aid system, would be extremely helpful. Information not only about types of financial aid (including scholarships that are targeted for Hispanic students) and the forms themselves should be presented, but also facts about the costs and benefits to the individual and the family (including figures on rates of return) of a college education. These sessions would be most effective if held not just for seniors and their parents, because college-decision making (which so often hinges on finances) is often made several years prior. In addition, outside agencies such as Talent Search and Upward Bound should be more fully supported and utilized by high schools as proven providers of financial aid expertise for low-income students.

Colleges need to be even more aggressive in financial aid advising and outreach, because many high school counselors themselves lack the necessary knowledge about financial aid. The admission offices should prepare financial aid information packages in Spanish as well as in English. Targeted linkage programs like "Step to College" (San Francisco State and several Bay Area high schools) should be more the norm than the exception, if colleges and universities are serious about access.

Forms themselves could be made simpler. Income verification should be loosened so that those whose incomes are so low that they do not file a 1040, should not be obligated to do so simply to fulfill a financial aid requirement. Increasing checks on higher income applicants and minimizing the burden on lower income applicants would also prove more efficient and less onerous. Many institutions run their financial aid processing on a first-come-first-served basis which can have a negative effect on low-income students in general, but specifically, as discussed, on Chicano/Latino students. If the goal is access and equity, then those institutions need to operate their systems from more of a philosophical rather than a mechanical basis, perhaps setting aside a specific sum of grant monies for those perennial late, but nonetheless deserving, applicants.

The current Congressional Methodology needs to be restructured so that negative family contributions and opportunity costs are considered. The practice of treating poor two- (or even three) income families the same as families that choose to have one wage earner (although their family incomes are the same) should be examined. Chicano/Latino families should not be punished for their strong work ethic or their tradition of "everybody chips in." The full need of these students should be met through a combination of federal and institutional grants, scholarships, College Work Study, and loans, with the emphasis on the latter kept to a minimum. While, of course, it is true that there is never enough financial aid money to go around - and these days increasingly

less—it may be argued on grounds of social equity that low-income Chicano/Latino students, so frequently from poor families, deserve relatively generous aid packages to make up for the lack of family assets.

Although strides have been made in recent years, far more research needs to be done on the impact of financial aid on Chicano/Latino students. Empirical studies need to be done at both the high school and college level in diverse geographical areas. What we need to know is clear: why similarly situated teenagers make different decisions about college, and what can affect them. Until research yields qualitative knowledge of this sort, analysis of minority aid-and-entry decisions will prove unsatisfactory and ineffective (Jackson, 1990).

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I Come From A Country Not So Far Away

Cecilia Carrasco

I come from a country
not so far away
but the customs and language
are as different as
ice cream and sunsets.

In "Mi Tierra"
we wake saying
"Gracias A Dios."

Here everyone moans
at the birth of a new day.
No one seems to appreciate
the gift of another day
of life
"Nuestro Señor"
has given us.

With the eagerness
of a hungry dog
but the speed
of a caterpillar

I work in the fields
picking whatever is in season

until my hands crack
making a passage for the
blood
to travel
in the caverns of dried skin.

Even though my knees
are
calloused and stricken
with arthritis

I work,
work,
and work.

From the moment
of the sun's early
greeting
to its sad and
hasty good bye

time to count the bushels
of cotton, lettuce, or
garlic

Pay is small
my room is even smaller
the cold food has little to
be desired.

But my determination
grows
knowing that my family
back in "Mi Tierra"
will be fed.

Gracias a Dios.

Cecilia Carrasco is a bilingual teacher living in the Bay Area.

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Induction Programs for Bilingual Teachers:
Addressing the Needs of Teachers in Language Minority Education

Joan Wink
Juan M. Flores

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that a well-planned and well-implemented induction model can do a great deal to truly support the first-year bilingual teacher and first-year Latino teacher, who most often are assigned to teach in bilingual classrooms. It is not a program in name only; there are specific components which must be implemented and maintained in order for the induction program to succeed.

Historical Perspective

In order to understand a bilingual induction program, it is necessary to examine mainstream induction programs in their proper historical perspective. During the 50s and 60s, most first-year teachers were completely on their own. They had little or no institutional support as they struggled with their first assignment. Then came the 70s with the Buddy System. During this time, administrators gave their most experienced teacher yet another assignment; taking care of the new teacher: personally, professionally, and emotionally. If the first-year teacher had a bad year, it reflected on the veteran teacher who had been providing support. During the late 70s this model became known as the Peer System, but the program was nothing more than the preceding Buddy System embellished with the new label. In the 80s the Mentor System emerged with various levels of administrative support. The 90s will herald the Induction Program.

Many teachers look back on their first year of teaching and recognize that it was the most difficult; often the first year has very little resemblance to the career which followed. Ironically, the very time in one's career when teachers need the most support is the year when there tends to be little or none. The institutions of higher learning (IHE's) tend to pull back on their support after the students graduate from their credential programs. The districts tend to also provide limited support to new teachers by virtue of the fact that they have the same expectations of first-year teachers as they do of the accomplished veterans. In fact, the teaching profession is one of the very few, if not the only profession, in which beginners are expected to assume full responsibilities on the first day on the job (Huling-Austin, 1988). While other professions are prone to provide a supervised induction period, teachers have been left alone to solve their entry problems (Henry, 1987). Some districts would argue that they do provide some support; however, it is often in the form of evaluation. A good evaluation program is not a good induction program. Although the clinical teaching/supervision and peer teaching models represent a more supportive interaction in the supervision/evaluation process, current efforts still fall short of the sort of induction program that first year teachers need.

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It is not uncommon for first-year teachers to have the most difficult assignments. These teachers often carry several preparations or a heavy extra-curricular load. Often a first-year teacher has to travel from room to room or even from site to site. Many beginning professionals are given low-status classes or classes which are filled with students who have a history of academic or disciplinary problems. It is a classic case of the most difficult job being given to the least prepared. It is small wonder that the dropout statistics of young teachers are as much as 50 percent during the first five years of teaching (Howey & Zimpher, 1987). While other professions are prone to provide a supervised induction period, teachers have been left alone to solve their entry problems (Henry, 1987).

The teaching profession is the only one where beginning professionals are expected to have all of the skills, knowledge, and abilities of the experienced personnel. Witness the internship programs which are available in the medical and legal professions. In the world of free enterprise and business, it is assumed that the first-year people need time and more training before being assigned the responsibilities of the veterans. Only in teaching does one see the beginning professionals struggling to maintain the duties of those who are more experienced. The consequences of this inattention are indeed frightening. Not only do we witness a 50 percent dropout rate in the first five years, but there are more alarming statistics. Those who leave first are most likely to be the most academically talented individuals. Even more alarming than this is the finding that teaching effectiveness tends to wane considerably after five years, and more substantially after ten years for the large majority of those who remain (Rosenholt, 1987; Henry, 1987). The need for effective induction programs is clearly evident.

Latino Teachers

Latino teachers are a unique group whose experiences in the new teacher induction process and their unique perspectives require additional consideration. Latino teachers surveyed in a study by the Tomas Rivera Center tend to characterize themselves as "survivors." They "survived" their public school education despite the atrocious attrition statistics in our public schools. They entered the university and "survived" their classes despite the fact that many were not fluent in English, often had difficulties with their classes, and often were financially strapped because of their inability to afford a college education (Tomas Rivera, 1991). Of the ones who chose to become teachers, 78% chose to work in bilingual classes or with limited English proficient (LEP) students (Tomas Rivera, 1991). Whereas 58% responded that insufficient individualized faculty counseling in their college years was a major barrier, only 29% received aid in the form of counseling, and only 11% received aid in the form of mentoring. The testing requirement has been a significant issue for many minority and Latino teachers. Whereas 51% indicated that testing requirements such as California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST) were a major barrier, only 10% indicated that they had received aid in the form of test preparation.

A finding of special note is that the surveyed Latino teachers feel unprepared to work with Latino students. Of those respondents working at the K-6 level, 63 percent felt they had been well prepared to teach English reading. Fifty-nine percent felt that were well prepared to teach Math. However, only 41% felt that they felt well prepared to teach Latino students. Only 34% felt well prepared to teacher limited English proficient students. If we include junior high and senior high teachers, 34 % of the Latino teachers felt well prepared to teach Latino students and only 27% felt well prepared to teach LEP students. These figures raise concerns given that more than 78% of the respondents reported working in bilingual or ESL programs (Tomas Rivera, 1991).

A study of Latino teachers conducted by the Tomas Rivera Center for Educational Policy Study (1991) states that 53%

of the respondents felt that they were typecast into activities related to their ethnicity and that these activities increased their workload beyond that of the average teacher. These same Latino teachers found their work environment less than ideal. 76% taught in low wealth schools, 79% considered their classes significantly overcrowded. Although 78% of Latino teachers reported working in bilingual or ESL programs, only 34% felt well prepared to work with LEP students. Understandably, this additional work load adds to the work stress for the Latino teacher.

As a group, these respondents seemed to indicate a high level of satisfaction with their jobs (81%); 64% indicated that they would become teachers if the had to do it over again. Yet, this same study found that 51% of the respondents indicated that they planned to leave classroom teaching within the next five years, and half of these planned to leave education altogether (Tomas Rivera, 1991). The additional stress load of the beginning teacher tends to continue for the Latino teacher beyond the entry into the profession.

The needs of first year teachers are similar to those of first year bilingual teachers and first year Hispanic bilingual teachers. But the responsibilities and additional stress of being a bilingual teacher and especially being a first year Hispanic bilingual teacher create an additional set of needs that must be addresses separately. Since we do not have data on bilingual teachers from other minority backgrounds, the findings and recommendations of this study can only be applied to Latinos.

Defining Induction Programs

Induction programs focus on the needs of the first-year teachers. The idea is to provide a smooth transition from the preparation program to the world of the school (Armstrong & Savage, 1990). These programs create a process of inducting new members into a life-time of learning. Induction programs provide linkage and a safe transition from the life of a student to that of a teacher. As in any successful education program, there must always be an emphasis placed on pedagogy. In addition to that, the induction programs must provide a system of support for the social interaction between beginning teachers and their counterparts who have been a part of the profession for years. Induction programs must also provide a nurturing and supportive network which is based on a collaborative and cooperative theoretical framework. A successful induction program allows the American educational system a means of harnessing the potential of another generation of quality teachers, especially in light of the great need for bilingual teachers and the decreasing number of Latinos entering the teaching profession.

Induction programs differ from mentor programs in that there is a wider level of support. In addition to a supportive, mentoring colleague at the site, the central office and the local IHE work together to provide a safe transition from the life of a student to that of a full professional. Three types of support seem to offer the most promise for developing a model that will work: mentor support, peer support, and university support. If any part of the triad is omitted, programs and beginning teachers may not succeed (Henry, 1987). The notion that a triad of support from mentors, peers, and university supervisors would be effective was tested at Indiana State University in 1986 involving 20 first-year teachers in 15 schools. The premise of the program was that integrated support would improve the quality of first-year teaching and possibly reduce teacher dropout because each member of the triad could make a contribution that was not possible by the other. The major finding was in the area of teacher retention. Now in its third year, this program was selected as the Association of Teacher Educators' Distinguished Program in Teacher Education (Henry, 1987). This concept is similar to the work of George (1983) on interdisciplinary team support which is a frequent focus of middle school literature. Interdisciplinary teams, properly defined and purpose-

fully organized, share with mentoring, a helping community function in effective schools (George, 1983). Planners of the collaborative program decided that mentoring in teams, rather than modeling student teaching's master-protege relationship or the collegial one-to-one relationship of induction year mentoring, would engage the strong supportive base, commitment, and multifaceted resources provided by the interdisciplinary team structure already operating in the participating middle schools. This concept of the successful induction program is founded on the principle that there must be a group of persons who represent the site, the central office, and the IHE who collaborate and cooperate in order to assure the beginning teachers of growth into full professionalism.

Bilingual Induction Programs

After reviewing the extant literature on mainstream induction programs, it is the purpose of this paper to create a research-based induction program that is directly applicable to bilingual programs. Three recommendations will be made regarding components that are necessary in a successful bilingual induction program. In order to create this program, there must be well-articulated and well implemented components of instruction, language development, and affective support.

Instructional Component

Based on the research project of Sandra J. Odell (1987) which interviewed teachers to ascertain their perceived needs, it is recommended that any bilingual induction program begin with the concept of a solid instructional component. In this study, 46.3 % of the teachers felt that their greatest need was for more support in instruction. First-year bilingual teachers have had courses in the various instructional strategies; but applying that knowledge effectively while coping with all of the demands of their first year in the classroom is a more difficult task.

Because of this, those who are in a position of leadership, i.e., bilingual directors, curriculum/instructional specialists, principals, etc. need to create a process that allows for continued growth in instructional strategies. Administrators need to be assured that their beginning teachers have opportunities to attend inservices which deal directly with the use of instructional strategies which apply, not only to the mainstream classes, but also to bilingual classes. The IHE's need to be available to share their knowledge of a wide variety of instruction strategies.

The research demonstrates that first-year teachers identify instructional support as their greatest need (Odell, 1987); bilingual leaders must create inservices which meet this need. The research on Latino bilingual teachers clearly underlines the need to provide instructional development in teaching LEP children. A minimum of 50 percent of the time allocated to monthly bilingual meetings must be devoted to actively internalizing and practicing further strategies. Bilingual directors need to resist the temptation of consuming their monthly meetings with only bureaucratic papers and forms required by the district and/or state compliance processes. A useful format is to devote 1/4 of the time to district and state required LEP paperwork, 1/4 to specific children and/or families and their needs, and 1/2 to supporting new teachers in their acquisition of more instructional skills. It is important, not just to teach about new skills, but also to allow the new teachers time to practice and develop the skills necessary in order to be able to implement these instructional strategies. Teaching limited English proficient students is a great challenge that is not often appreciated, and the research literature on Latino teachers clearly reveals a teacher who is challenged by the task and is often uncertain if his/her success and effectiveness.

In a bilingual induction program which seeks to nurture and support the first-year teachers, it is also vital to keep the new teachers abreast of up-to-date research. What new teacher could possibly find time to read quietly in the local

university professional journal section? It is the responsibility of the bilingual director to be aware of up-coming speakers and new ideas and concepts, as well as provide access to new research for the classroom teachers.

Second Language Component

The second component which must be a part of any bilingual induction program is a process which encourages advanced levels of proficiencies in the second language. Many fail to understand how long it actually takes to become truly proficient in a second language. Five to seven years are needed in order to develop full proficiency in a second language (Cummins, 1990). Time is paramount in language acquisition. Young professionals who are just beginning their first year are often overwhelmed with the skills it takes in order to teach all subject matter in the second language.

Young teachers whose first language is English and who have studied their second language during high school and college are referred to as elite bilinguals. They have often studied languages in a rich language learning environment where the ability to use two languages is valued and respected. Many of these young people have even continued their studies in another country. Elite bilingualism confers intellectual and social advantages and prestige. For elite bilinguals, being able to use more than one language is the hallmark of an educated person (Fradd & Tikunoff, 1987). However, when this young person begins to teach in the second language, they are often overwhelmed at the level of oral proficiency which is needed in order to be able to communicate freely and spontaneously with students and parents and to be able to teach all content areas in the second language.

The language development needs of of the non-elite bilingual must also be addressed. We cannot assume that native speakers have the proficiency to teach in the target language, especially those who received the majority of their education in the United States. Thus, assurances must be made that native speakers have opportunities to continue to develop their language skills in order to more effectively conduct a bilingual classroom. This language development needs to take into account that they are quite proficient in their oral skills, but will need more attention in the development of their academic skills in their language

During this induction period, the bilingual directors need to support the natural language acquisition process. Beginning teachers who are using a second language need to know that it is unrealistic to think that they would have complete proficiency in the second language and in all content areas at this point in their professional development. District bilingual directors should seek and, if need be, create opportunities such as summer study programs to further language acquisition for the beginning teachers, and identify possible funding support within and without the district. Another process which needs to be created is an informal second language practice session within the district for the teachers. Throughout this period of time, the young teachers need nurturing, support, and encouragement. Such a process or procedure will enable the young professionals access to full proficiency. A *procedure* and *time* for it to fulfill its objectives are the two crucial aspects needed for language acquisition. First-year bilingual teachers may have instructional strategies, a firm philosophical base, commitment, and energy; but, if they are "elite" and "non elite" speakers of the second language, it is recommended that these young professionals follow this plan in order to be inducted into fully bilingual professionalism.

Affective Development Component

The third component of the bilingual induction program is to address the affective development of the young bilingual teacher. This component tends to be the one of most significance for new

bilingual teachers. Bilingual education is often a highly charged public and political issue. In many communities, polarization has taken place regarding the concept of bilingual education. The young teachers are tossed into the middle of this and are often called upon to publicly defend the rationale for their profession. Other academic disciplines rarely call upon their beginning-level professionals to publicly defend their rationale. And, young bilingual professionals are called upon to do it in two languages. One beginning bilingual teacher wrote "I feel like a rebel enclosed in a maze without escape. My graduate courses show me the research which demonstrates that drastic, immediate changes are needed in my school's bilingual education program. I go home and I go to school the next day with a sense of hope and a sense of hopelessness. Today the principal asked me why I wasn't smiling so much. What does he expect? I am very disappointed in the system. He called me to his office and asked me if I thought he had an attitude problem." Many beginning teachers are not prepared for the stress, time demands, and isolation of their first job (Marso & Pigge, 1986). Young bilingual teachers are under the same kind of pressures as are all mainstream teachers, but in addition to this, they are required to effectively defend their profession in the political arena. Because of this, the induction program needs to focus on their affective support; and it must come from the combined forces of the IHE, the district, and the site who together form a safety net for developing young professionals. Given the statistics regarding the drop-out rate of beginning teachers, it is not difficult to imagine that the drop-out rate for beginning bilingual teachers would be greater.

For the Latino bilingual teacher, ethnicity becomes an additional factor that tends to isolate and alienate. According to the identified research, Latino teachers tend to be assigned to work with LEP children (Tomas Rivera, 1991). Naturally, this is quite understandable because of their Spanish proficiency. However, on many school sites the bilingual teachers tend to be predominantly minority. This racial separation serves to alienate the bilingual teachers from their predominantly Anglo monolingual English speaking peers.

In order for the program to serve the needs of the inductees, the IHE's and the districts must work together to provide a solid base of support. Personnel from the IHE's need to be available to provide inservices and access to speakers and research. District personnel must assure the young teachers time and opportunity to fully have access to the process of induction. The long-term goal of developing competent teachers who will remain in the profession must be kept in mind by all.

In a study conducted by Grant and Zeichner (1981), teachers were asked to describe their perceptions regarding the level of support which they received during their first year in the classroom. These teachers indicated that they received the most support during their first year of teaching from their consulting teacher, who served as mentors. Principals and professors jockeyed for second and third place regarding their supportive value. Principals were, however, nominated as contributing substantively more support and assistance to beginning teachers in the area of human relations than college professors (Stern & Arney, 1989). In addition, this study showed that principals who participated in a supportive entry-level teacher program had no more impact on perceptions of beginning teachers than principals in a neighboring state who did not take part in any type of mentoring program. And, the perception of the teachers showed that higher education representatives have less influence on entry-level teachers than principals (Stern & Arney, 1989). The results of this study indicate clearly that the district administration and the IHE's are sorely lacking in their effectiveness at preparing first-year teachers.

It is paramount that there be a unified program of support by the district and the IHE. It is clear in the literature that programs simply do not succeed

without administrative support (Edmonds, 1990). It is not enough that these leaders state their support, there must be a clear-cut procedure established and maintained that encourages second language acquisition and supports the teacher pedagogically, emotionally and financially during this time of induction. The responsibilities of the district through the services of the bilingual director, the site principal, or the curriculum director are to see that a process is established, and known to all, which allows time for further second language acquisition. Bilingual directors must create and maintain informal practice sessions. They need to encourage participation in the process; they need to provide the teachers with information regarding summer study. The administrators, both at the site and the central office, need to be aware of this process to understand the rationale, in order that they might publicly validate and affirm it. The responsibilities of the IHE's are to provide support to the program by insuring that personnel is available to work with the young teachers individually to coordinate activities with the district, to provide inservices, and to access research.

Conclusion

The literature supports the great need for a process to fully induct new bilingual teachers into the profession by means of a unified base of support which includes the district, the central office, and the local institution of higher learning. Beginning teachers are vulnerable as the research clearly demonstrates. Induction programs are designed to meet this need. First-year bilingual teachers have all of these same generic needs; in addition to this, they carry the extra responsibility of a second language in all content areas. The also have the responsibility to effectively perform in the public debate regarding the validity of bilingual education. This bilingual induction program has been designed in order to meet the general and specific needs of beginning bilingual teachers. Many districts have discovered that there is a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers; it is paramount that there be a substantial base of support for the first-year teachers to become empowered (Cummins, 1989) because of their increasing knowledge and professional and personal support.

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